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# OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

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OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.

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## The Founding of Boston.

FROM CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON'S "WONDER-WORKING PROVIDENCE," PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1654.

*Of the voluntary banishment, chosen by this People of Christ, and their last farewell taken of their Country and Friends.*

And now behold the severall Regiments of these Souldiers of Christ, as they are shipped for his service in the *Western World*, part thereof being come to the Towne and Port of *Southampton in England*, where they were to be shipped, that they might prosecute this designe to the full, one Ship called the *Eagle*, they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the feede of man and beast to sow this yet untilld Wildernesse withall, making sale of such Land as they possesse, to the great admiration of their Friends and Acquaintance, who thus expostulate with them, What, will not the large income of your yearly revenue content you, which in all reason cannot chuse but be more advantagious both to you and yours, then all that Rocky Wildernesse, whither you are going, to run the hazard of your life? Have you not here your Tables filled with great variety of Foode, your Coffers filled with Coyne, your Houses beautifully built and filled with all rich Furniture? (or otherwise) have you not such a gainfull Trade as none the like in the Towne where you live? Are you not enriched daily? Are not your Children very well provided for as they come to years? (nay) may you not here as pithily practise the two chiefe Duties of a Christian (if Christ give strength) namely Mortification and Sanctification as in any

place of the World? What helps can you have there that you must not carry from hence? With bold resolvednesse these stout Souldiers of Christ reply; as Death, the King of terror with all his dreadfull attendance inhumane and barbarous, tortures doubled and trebled by all the infernal furies have appeared but light and momentany to the Souldiers of *Christ Iesus*, so also the Pleasure, Profits and Honours of this World set forth in their most glorious splendor, and magnitude by the alluring Lady of Delight, proffering pleasant embraces, cannot intice with her *Syren* Songs, such Souldiers of Christ, whose ayms are elevated by him, many Millions above that brave Warriour *Vlysses*.

Now seeing all can be said will but barely set forth the immoveable Resolutions that Christ continued in these men; Passe on and attend with teares, if thou hast any, the following discourse, while these Men, Women and Children are taking their last farwell of their Native Country, Kindred, Friends and Acquaintance, while the Ships attend them; Many make choise of some solitary place to eccho out their bowell-breaking affections in bidding their Friends farwell, deare friends (sayes one) as neare as my owne soule doth thy love lodge in my brest, with thought of the heart-burning Ravishments, that thy Heavenly speeches have wrought: my melting soule is poured out at present with these words, both of them had their farther speach strangled from the depth of their inward dolor, with breast-breaking sobs till leaning their heads each on others shoulders, they let fall the salt-dropping dewes of vehement affection, striving to exceede one another, much like the departure of *David* and *Jonathan*: having a little eased their hearts with the still streames of Teares, they recovered speech againe. Ah! my much honoured friend, hath Christ given thee so great a charge as to be Leader of his People into that far remote, and vast Wildernesse, I, oh, and alas thou must die there and never shall I see thy Face in the flesh againe, wert thou called to so great a taske as to passe the pretious Ocean, and hazard thy person in Battell against thousands of Malignant Enemies there? there were hopes of thy return with triumph, but now after two three, or foure moneths spent with daily expectation of swallowing Waves, and cruell Pirates, you are to be Landed among barbarous *Indians*, famous for nothing but cruelty, where you are like to spend your days in a famishing condition for a long space; Scarce had he uttered this, but presently hee lockes his friend fast in his armes, holding each other



thus for some space of time, they weepe againe, But as *Paul* to his beloved flock: the other replies what doe you weeping and breaking my heart? I am now prest for the service of our *Lord Christ* to re-build the most glorious Edifice of Mount *Sion* in a Wildernesse, and as *John Baptist*, I must cry prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths strait, for behold hee is comming againe, hee is comming to destroy *Antichrist*, and give the whore double to drinke the very dregs of his wrath.

. . . They thrust in among the throng now ready to take Ship, where they beheld the like affections with their own among divers Relations, Husbands and Wives with mutuall consent are now purposed to part for a time 900 Leagues asunder, since some providence at present will not suffer them to goe together, they resolve their tender affections shall not hinder this worke of Christ, the new Married and betrothed man, exempt by the Law of God from war, now will not claime their priviledge, but being constrained by the Love of Christ, lock up their naturall affections for a time, till the Lord shall be pleased to give them a meeting in this *Westerne* World, sweetly mixing it with spirituall love, in the meane time many Fathers now take their yong *Samuells*, and give them to this service of Christ all their Lives. Brethren, Sisters, Unkles, Nephewes, Nieces, together with all Kindred of blood that binds the bowells of affection in a true Lovers knot, can now take their last farewell, each of other, although naturall affection will still claime her right, and manifest her selfe to bee in the body by looking out at the Windowes in a mournfull manner among this company, thus disposed doth many Reverend and godly Pastors of Christ present themselves, some in a Seamans Habit, and their scattered sheepe comming as a poore Convoy loftily take their leave of them as followeth, what dolefull dayes are these, when the best choice our Orthodox Ministers can make is to take up a perpetuall banishment from their native soile, together with their Wives and Children, wee their poore sheepe they may not feede, but by stoledred should they abide here. *Lord Christ*, here they are at thy command, they go, this is the doore thou hast opened upon our earnest request, and we hope it shall never be shut: for *Englands* sake they are going from *England* to pray without ceasing for *England*, O *England*! thou shalt finde *New England* prayers prevailing with their God for thee, but now woe alas, what great hardship must these our indeared Pastors indure for a long season, with these words they

lift up their voyces and wept, adding many drops of salt liquor to the ebbing Ocean; Then shaking hands they bid adue with much cordiall affection to all their Brethren, and Sisters in Christ, yet now the Scorne and Derision of those times, and for this their great enterprise counted as so many crackt-braines, but Christ will make all the earth know the wisdome he hath indued them with, shall over-top all the humane policy in the World as the sequell wee hope will shew. . . .

*Of the wonderfull preservation of Christ, in carrying his People Men, Women, Children, through the largest Ocean in the World.*

Being safe aboard weighing Anker, and hoysting saile they betooke them to the protection of the Lord on the wide Ocean, no sooner were they dispersed by reason of the widenesse of the Sea, but the *Arrabella* (for so they called the Eagle which the company purchased in honour of the Lady *Arrabella*, Wife to that godly Esquire, *Izack Johnson*) espied foure Ships, as they supposed, in pursuit of them, their suspition being the more augmented by reason of a report (when they lay in harbor) of foure Dunkerkm<sup>n</sup> of war, who were said to lie waiting for their comming forth, at this fight they make preparation, according to their present condition, comforting one another in the sweete mercies of Christ: the weaker sex betooke them to the Ships hold, but the men one Decks waite in a readinesse for the enemies approach. At whose courage many of the Seamen wonder, not knowing under whose command these their passengers were, even he who makes all his Souldiers bold as Lions. Yet was he not minded to make triall of his peoples valiantcy in fight at this time, for the ships comming up with them proved to be their own Countrymen and friends, at which they greatly rejoyced, seeing the good hand of their God was upon them, and are further strengthened in Faith to rely on Christ, for the future time against all Leakes, Stormes, Rockes, Sands, and all other wants a long Sea-voyage procures, sustaining them with all meeknesse and patience, yet sensible of the Lords frownes, humbling their soules before him, and also rejoycing in his deliverances in taking the cup of Salvation, and paying the tribute of thankfulnessse to the most high, whose provident hand was diversly directed toward them, purposely to point out the great hardships they must undergoe in this their Christian warfare, and withall to tell them, although their diffi-

culties were many and mournfull, yet their victories should be much more glorious and joyfull, eminently eyed of the whole World, but now keeping their course so neare as the winds will suffer them, the billowes begin to grow lofty and rageing, and suddenly bringing them into the vale of death, covering them with the formidable flouds, and dashing their bodies from side to side, hurling their unfixed goods from place to place at these unwonted workes. Many of these people amazed finde such opposition in nature, that her principles grow feeble, and cannot digest her food, loathing all manner of meat, so that the vitall parts are hindered from co-operating with the Soule in spirituall duties, insomuch that both Men, Women and Children are in a helplesse condition for present, and now is the time if ever of recounting this service they have, and are about to undertake for Christ; but he, who is very sensible of his peoples infirmities, rebukes the winds, and Seas for their sakes, and then the reverend and godly among them begin to exhort them in the name of the Lord, and from the Lord, being fitted with such words as much incourrages the worke they are going about, many of their horses and other Cattell are cast over-board by the way, to the great disheartning of some, but Christ knew well how far his peoples hearts would be taken off the maine worke with these things. And therefore although he be very tender in providing outward necessities for his, yet rather than this great worke (he intends) should be hindered, their Tables shall be spread but thinly in this Wildernesse for a time. After the Lord had exercised them thus severall ways, he sent Diseases to visit their Ships, that the desert Land they were now drawing near unto might not be deserted by them at first enterance, which sure it would have been by many, had not the Lord prevented by a troublesom passage: At forty dayes end, or thereabout, they cast to sound the Seas depth, and find them sixty fadom, by which they deem the bankes of New found Land are near, where they being provided with Cod-line and Hooke hale up some store of fish to their no small refreshing, and within some space of time after they approach the Cost of *New England*, where they are againe provided with Mackarell and that which was their greater rejoycing, they discover Land, at sight thereof they blessed the Lord. . . .



*Of the first leading of these People of Christ, when the Civil Government was Established.*

But to goe on with the Story, the 12 of *July* or thereabout 1630. these Souldiers of *Christ* first set foote one this *Westerne* end of the World; where arriveing in safety, both Men, Women and Children. On the North side of *Charles River*, they landed neare a small Island, called *Noddells Island*, where one Mr. *Samuel Mavereck* then living, a man of a very loving and curteous behaviour, very ready to entertaine strangers, yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall power one this Island, he had built a small Fort with the helpe of one Mr. *David Tompson*, placing therein foure Murtherers to protect him from the *Indians*. About one mile distant upon the River ran a small creeke, taking its Name from Major Gen. *Edward Gibbons*, who dwelt there for some yeares after; One the South side of the River one a point of Land called *Blaxtons* point, planted Mr. *William Blaxton*, of whom we have former spoken: to the South-East of him, neare an Island called *Tompsons* Island lived some few Planters more, these persons were the first Planters of those parts, having some small Trading with the *Indians* for *Beaver-Skins*, which moved them to make their aboade in those parts, whom these first Troopes of *Christs* Army, found as fit helpes to further their worke. At their arrivall those small number of Christians gathered at *Salem*, greatly rejoycing and the more, because they saw so many that came chiefly for promoting the great Work of *Christ* in hand, the Lady *Arrabella* and some other godly Women aboard at *Salem*, but their Husbands continued at *Charles Town*, both for the settling the civill Government, and gathering another Church of *Christ*. The first Court was holden aboard the *Arrabella* the 23. of *August*. When the much honoured *John Wintrobe* Esq. was chosen Governour for the remainder of that yeare, 1630. Also the worthy *Thomus Dudly* Esq. was chosen Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Simon Brodestreet* Secretary, the people after their long Voyage were many of them troubled with the *Scurvy*, and some of them died: the first station they tooke up was at *Charles Towne*, where they pitched some Tents of Cloath, other built them small Huts, in which they lodged their Wives and Children. The first beginning of this worke seemed very dolorous; First for the death of that worthy personage *Izaac Johnson* Esq. whom the Lord had indued



with many pretious gifts, insomuch that he was had in high esteeme among all the people of God, and as a chiefe Pillar to support this new erected building. He very much rejoyced at his death, that the Lord had been pleased to keepe his eyes open so long, as to see one Church of *Christ* gathered before his death, at whose departure there was not onely many weeping eyes, but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present worke. For future Remembrance of him mind this *Meeter*.

*Izaac Johnson* Esquire, beloved of Christ and his people, and one of the Magistrates of *New England*.

*What mov'd thee on the Seas upon such toyle with Lady-taking;  
Christs drawing love all strength's above, when way for his hee's  
making.*

*Christ will have thee example be, honoured with's graces, yeilding  
His Churches aid, foundation laid, now new one Christ a building.  
Thy Faith, Hope, Love, Joy, Meeknesse prove improved for thy  
Lord,*

*As he to thee, to people be, in Government accord.  
Oh! people why, doth Christ deny this worthies life to lengthen?  
Christ onely trust, Johnsons turnd dust, and yet hee's crownd and  
(strengthened.*

The griefe of this people was further increased by the sore sicknesse which befell among them, so that almost in every Family Lamentation, Mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them, it would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to Teares no doubt, had they past from one Hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in, and that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water, for although the place did afford plenty, yet for present they could find but one Spring, and that not to be come at, but when the tide was downe, which caused many to passe over to the South-side of the River, where they afterward erected some other Townes, yet most admirable it was to see with what Christian courage many of these Souldiers of *Christ* carried it amidst all these calamities, and in *October*, the Governour Deputy and Assistants, held their second Court on the South-side of the River; Where they then began to build, holding correspondency with *Charles Towne*, as one and the same.

At this Court many of the first Planters came, and were made free, yet afterward none were admitted to this fellowship, or freedom, but such as were first joyned in fellowship with some one of the Churches of Christ, their chiefest aime being bent to promote his worke altogether. The number of Freemen this yeare was 110. or thereabout.

*Of the second Church of Christ, gathered at Charles Towne in the  
Mattacusets Bay, 1631.*

And now the new-come Souldiers of *Christ* strengthen themselves in him, and gather a Church at *Charles Towne*, whose extent at present did reach to both sides of the River, and in very little time after was divided into two Churches, the Reverend and judicious Mr. *John Wilson* was called to be Pastor thereof, a Man full of Faith, Courage and Zeale, for the truth of *Christ* persecuted, and hunted after by the usurping Prelates (and forced for present to part from his indeared Wife) yet honoured by *Christ*, and made a powerfull instrument in his hands for the cutting downe of Error, and Schisme.

The Grave and Reverend Mr. *John Wilson*, now Pastor of the  
Church of Christ at *Soston*, in *New England*.

*John VWilson will, to Christs will submit,  
In Wildernesse, where thou hast Trialls found,  
Christ in new making did compose thee fit,  
And made thy Love zeale, for his truth abound.  
Then it's not Wilson, but Christ by him hath,  
Error cut down when it o'retopping stood,  
Thou then 'Gainst it didst shew an holy wrath;  
Saving mens soules from this o're-flowing floud.  
They thee deprave, thy Ministrey dispise,  
By thy thick utterance seeke to call Men back,  
From hearing thee, but Christ for thee did rise.  
And turnd the wheel-right over them to crack.  
Yea, caused thee with length of dayes to stand,  
Steadfast in's house in old Age fruit to bring.  
I and thy seed raise up by his command;  
His Flock to feed, rejoyce my Muse and sing.  
That Christ doth, dust regard so plentiously,  
Rich gifts to give, and heart to give him his,*

*Estate and person thou spends liberally;  
Christ thee, and thine will Crown with lasting Blisse.*

This, as the other Churches of *Christ*, began with a small number in a desolate and barren Wildernesse, which the Lord in his wonderfull mercy hath turned to fruitfull Fields. Wherefore behold the present condition of these Churches compared with their beginnings; as they sowed in teares, so also have they Reaped in joy, and shall still so go on if plenty and liberty marre not their prosperity. This towne of *Charles* is situated one the North-side of *Charles* River, from whence it tooke its Name, the River being about five or six fathom deepe; Over against the Town many small Islands lieing to the Seaward of it, and Hills one either side. By which meanes it proves a very good harbor for Ships, which hath caused many Sea-men and Merchants to sit downe there, the forme of this Towne in the frontice piece thereof, is like the Head, Neck and Shoulders of a Man, onely the pleasant, and Navigable River of *Mistick* runs through the right shoulder thereof, and by its neare approach to *Charles* River in one place makes a very narrow neck, by which meanes the chiefe part of the Towne, whereon the most building stands, becomes a Peninsula: it hath a large Market-place neer the water side built round with Houses, comly and faire, forth of which there issues two streetes orderly built with some very faire Houses, beautified with pleasant Gardens and Orchards, the whole Towne consists in its extent of about 150. dwelling Houses. Their meeting house for Sabbath assembly stands in the Market-place, very comly built and large, the Officers of this Church are at this day one pastor, and one Teacher, one Ruling Elder, and three Deacons, the number of Soules are about 160. wonderfull it is to see that in so short a time such great alterations *Christ* should worke for these poore people of his: their Corne Land in Tillage in this Towne is about 1200. Acres, their great Cattell are about 400. head, Sheepe neare upon 400. as for their horse you shall hear of them, Godwilling, when we come to speak of their Military Discipline.

*Of the Third Church of Christ gathered at Dorchester, 1631.*

The third Church of *Christ* gathered under this Government was at *Dorchester*, a frontire Town scituated very pleasantly both



for facing the Sea, and also its large extent into the main Land, well watered with two small Rivers; neere about this Towne inhabited some few ancient Traders, who were not of this select band, but came for other ends, as *Morton* of *Merrymount*, who would faine have resisted this worke, but the provident hand of *Christ* prevented. The forme of this Towne is almost like a Serpent turning her head to the North-ward; over against *Tompsons* Island, and the Castle, her body and wings being chiefly built on, are filled somewhat thick of Houses, onely that one of her Wings is clipt, her Tayle being of such a large extent that shee can hardly draw it after her; Her Houses for dwelling are about one hundred and forty, Orchards and Gardens full of Fruit-trees, plenty of Corne-Land, although much of it hath been long in tillage, yet hath it ordinarily good crops, the number of Trees are neare upon 1500. Cowes, and other Cattell of that kinde about 450. Thus hath the Lord been pleased to increase his poore dispersed people, whose number in this Flock are neare about 150. their first Pastor c<sup>l</sup>led to feede them was the Reverend, and godly Mr. *Maveruck*.

*Maveruck thou must put period to thy dayes,  
In Wildernesse thy kindred thee provoke  
To come, but Christ doth thee for high ends Raise;  
Amongst his worthies to strike many a stroke.  
Thy godly Life, and Doctrine speake, though thou  
In dust art laid, yet Christ by thee did feede  
His scattered Lambes, they gathered are by you;  
Christ calls thee home, but flock he leaves to feede.*

*Of the Fourth Church of Christ gathered at Boston, 1631.*

After some little space of time the Church of *Christ* at *Charles* Town, having their Sabbath assemblies oftenest on the South side of the River, agreed to leave the people on that side to themselves, and to provide another Pastor for *Charles* Towne, which accordingly they did. So that the fourth Church of *Christ* issued out of *Charles* Towne, and was seated at *Boston*, being the Center Towne and Metropolis of this Wildernesse worke (but you must not imagine it to be a Metropolitan Church) invironed it is with the *Brinish* flouds, saving one small Istmos, which gives free accesse to the Neighbour Townes; by Land on the South side, on the North west, and North East, two constant Faies are kept



for daily traffique thereunto, the forme of this Towne is like a heart, naturally scituated for Fortifications, having two Hills on the frontice part thereof next the Sea, the one well fortified on the superficies thereof, with store of great Artillery well mounted, the other hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber, and filled with Earth, at the descent of the Hill in the extreme poynt thereof, betwixt these two strong armes lies a large Cave or Bay, on which the chieftest part of this Town is built, over-topped with a third Hill, all three like over-topping Towers keepe a constant watch to fore-see the approach of forrein dangers, being furnished with a Beacon and lowd babling Guns, to give notice by their redoubled eccho to all their Sister-townes, the chiefe Edifice of this City-like Towne is crowded on the Sea-bankes, and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautifull and large, some fairely set forth with Brick, Tile, Stone and Slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous City. The wonder of this moderne Age, that a few yeares should bring forth such great matters by so meane a handfull, and they so far from being inriched by the spoiles of other Nations, that the states of many of them have beene spoiled by the Lordly Prelacy, whose Lands must assuredly make Restitutions. But now behold the admirable Acts of *Christ*, at this his peoples landing, the hideous Thickets in this place were such, that Wolfes and Beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, in those very places where the streets are full of Girles and Boys sporting up and downe, with a continued concourse of people. Good store of Shipping is here yearly built, and some very faire ones: both Tar and Mastes the Countrey affords from its own soile; also store of Victuall both for their owne and Forreiners-ships, who resort hither for that end: this Town is the very Mart of the Land, *French*, *Portugalls* and *Dutch*, come hither for Traffique.

*Of the Fist Church of Christ, gathered at Roxbury, 1631.*

The fist Church of *Christ* was gathered at *Roxbury* scituated between *Boston* and *Dorchester*, being well watered with coole and pleasant Springs issuing forth the Rocky-hills, and with small Freshets, watering the Vallies of this fertill Towne, whose forme is somewhat like a wedge double pointed, entring betweene the two foure-named Townes, filled with a very laborious people,

whose labours the Lord hath so blest, that in the roome of dismall Swampes and tearing Bushes, they have very goodly Fruit-trees, fruitfull Fields and Gardens, their Heard of Cowes, Oxen and other young Cattell of that kind about 350. and dwelling-houses neere upon 120. Their streetes are large, and some fayre Houses, yet have they built their House for Church-assembly, destitute and unbeautified with other buildings. The Church of *Christ* here is increased to about 120. persons, their first Teaching *Elder* called to Office is Mr. *Eliot* a yong man, at his comming thither of a cheertull spirit, walking unblameable, of a godly conversation, apt to teach, as by his indefatigable paines both with his own flock, and the poore *Indians* doth appeare, whose Language he learned purposely to helpe them to the knowledge of God in *Christ*, frequently Preaching in their *Wigwams*, and Catechizing their Children.

Mr. *Eliot* Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Roxbury*, in *New England*, much honoured for his labours in the Lord.

*Great is thy worke in Wildernesse, Oh man,  
 Young Eliot neere twenty yeares thou hast,  
 In Western world with miccle toile thy span  
 Spent well-neere out, and now thy gray hayrs graces,  
 Are by thy Land-Lord Christ, who makes use of thee  
 To feede his flock, and heathen people teach  
 In their own Language, God and Christ to see;  
 A Saviour their blind hearts could not reach,  
 Poore naked Children come to learne Gods Mind  
 Before thy face with reverend regard;  
 Blesse God for thee may these poore heathen blind,  
 That from thy mouth Christs Gospell sweete have heard.  
 Eliot thy Name is, through the wild woods spread,  
 In Indians mouths frequent's thy fame, for why?  
 In sundry shapes the Devills made them dread;  
 And now the Lord makes them their Wigwams fly,  
 Rejoyce in this, nay rather joy that thou,  
 Amongst Christs Souldiers hast thy name sure set,  
 Although small gaine on Earth accrew to you,  
 Yet Christ to Crowne will thee to Heaven soone set.*

*Of the great cheerefulnesse of their Souldiers of Christ, in and under the penuries of a Wildernesse.*

These were the beginnings of these resolute Souldiers of *Christ Jesus* in the yeare, 1631. Even to lay the Foundation of their severall Churches of *Christ*, built onely on him as their chiefe Corner Stone. But as his chosen *Israel* met with many difficulties after their returne from Captivity, in building the Temple and City, which they valiantly waded through; So these weake wormes (Oh Christ to thy praise be it spoken) were most wonderfully holpen in such distresses, as to appearance of man seemed to be both hopelesse, and helplesse, threatning destruction to the whole building, and far from accomplishing such great things as you have in part seene already, and shall in the following discourse (God willing) see more abundantly, adding a strong testimony to the work, that as it was begun by *Christ*, so hath it beene carried on by him, and shall to the admiration of the whole World be perfected in his time, and unlesse men will be wilfully blinde, they must needs see and confesse the same, and that the influence thereof hath already run from one end of the Earth unto the other.

This yeare 1631. *John Winthrop* Esq. was chosen Governour, pickt out for the worke, by the provident hand of the most high, and inabled with gifts accordingly, then all the folke of *Christ*, who have seene his face and beene partaker of the same, remember him in this following Meeter.

*John Winthrope* Esq. Eleven times Governour of the *English* Nation, inhabiting the *Mattacusets* Bay in *New England*.

*Why leavest thou John, thy station, in Suffolk, thy own soile,  
Christ will have thee a pillar be, for's people thou must toyle,  
He chang'd thy heart, thẽ take his part, 'gainst prelates proud  
invading*

*(His Kingly throne) set up alone, in wildernesse their shading  
His little flocks from Prelates knocks, twice ten years rul'd thou hast,  
With civill sword at Christs word, and eleven times been trast.  
By name and Note, with peoples vote, their Governour to be,  
Thy means hast spent, 'twas therefore lent, to raise this work by  
thee.*

*Well arm'd and strong with sword among, Christ armies marcheth  
he,  
Doth valiant praise, and weak one raise, with kind benignity.*



*To lead the Van, 'gainst Babylon, doth worthy Winthrop call,  
 Thy Progeny, shall Battell try, when Prelacy shall fall.  
 With fluent Tongue thy Pen doth run, in learned Latine phrase,  
 To Sweads, French, Dutch, thy Neighbours, which thy lady  
 rhetorick praise.  
 Thy bounty feeds Christs servants needs, in wilderness of wants  
 To Indians thou Christs Gospell now, 'mongst heathen people  
 plants.  
 Yet thou poore dust, now dead and must, to rottennesse be brought,  
 Till Christ restore thee glorious, more then can of dust be thought.*

The much honoured *Thomas Dudly* Esquire was chosen Deputy Governour, and the number of Free-men added was about 83. Those honoured persons who were now in place of Government, having the propagation of the Churches of *Christ*, in their eye laboured by all meanes to make roome for Inhabitants, knowing well that where the dead carkass is, thither will the Eagles resort. But herein they were much opposed by certaine persons, whose greedy desire for land much hindered the worke for a time, as indeed all such persons do at this very day, and let such take notice how these were cured of this distemper, some were taken away by death, and then to be sure they had Land enough, others fearing poverty, and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves away and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done for his people, but the valiant of the Lord waited with patience, and in the misse of beere supplied themselves with water, even the most honoured as well as others, contentedly rejoycing in a Cup of cold water, blessing the Lord that had given them the taste of that living water, and that they had not the water that slackes the thirst of their naturall bodies, given them by measure, but might drinke to the full; as also in the absence of Bread they feasted themselves with fish, the Women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the Mussells, and Clambankes, which are a Fish as big as Horse-mussells, where they daily gathered their Families food with much heavenly discourse of the provisions *Christ* had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness. Quoth one, my Husband hath travailed as far as *Plimoth*, (which is neere 40 miles,) and hath with great toile brought a little Corne home with him, and before that is spent the Lord will assuredly provide: quoth the other, our last peck of Meale is

now in the Oven at home a baking, and many of our godly Neighbours have quite spent all, and wee owe one Loafe of that little wee have; Then spake a third, my husband hath ventured himselfe among the *Indians* for Corne, and can get none, as also our honoured Governour hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store, and all the rest, and yet methinks our Children are as cheerefull, fat, and lusty with feeding upon those Mussells, Clambanks and other Fish as they were in *England*, with their fill of Bread, which makes mee cheerfull in the Lords providing for us, being further confirmed by the exhortation of our *Pastor* to trust the Lord with providing for us; whose is the Earth and the fulnesse thereof. And as they were encouraging one another in *Christs* carefull providing for them, they lift up their eyes and saw two Ships comming in, and presently this newes came to their Eares, that they were come from *Jacland* full of Victualls, now their poore hearts were not so much refreshed in regard of the food they saw they were like to have, as their soules rejoyced in that *Christ* would now manifest himselfe to be the Commissary Generall of this his Army, and that hee should honour them so far as to be poore Sutlers for his Camp, they soone up with their Mussells, and hie them home to stay their hungry stomachs. After this manner did *Christ* many times graciously provide for this his people, even at the last cast.

*Of the gracious provisions the Lord made for his people.*

The yeare 1632. *John Winthroe* Esquire, was chosen Governour againe, and the antient *Thomas Dudley* Esquire, was Deputy Governour, a man of a sound judgement in matters of Religion and well read, bestowing much labour that way, of whom as followeth:

*The honoured, aged, stable and sincere servant of Christ, zealous for his truth Thomas Dudley, Esq. foure times Governour of the English Nation, in the Mattacusets, and first Major Generall of the Millitary Forces.*

*What Thomas now believe dost thou that riches men may gaine,  
In this poore Plot Christ doth allot his people to sustaine;  
Rich Truth thou'lt buy and sell not, why no richer Jem can be,  
Truths Champion in champion, Christ's grace hath placed thee,*

*With civill Sword, at Christs Word, early cut off wilt thou,  
Those Wolfish sheep, amongst flocks do creep, and damned doctrine low.*

*To trembling age, thou valiant sage, one foot wilt not give ground  
Christs Enemies from thy face flies, his truth thou savest sound.*

*Thy lengthened dayes, to Christs praise, continued are by him :*

*To set by thee, his people free, from foes that raging bin.*

*Wearied with yeares, it plaine appeares, Dudly not long can last,  
It matters not, Christ Crown thee got, its now at hand, hold fast.*

This yeare was the first choise of Magistrates by free-men, whose number was now increased, fifty three or thereabout, to declare the manner of their Government is by the Author deferred till the year. 1637. where the Reader may behold Government both in Churches and Common-wealth, to be an institution of the Lord, and much availeable through his blessing for the accomplishment of his promises to his people.

This year these fore-runners of the following Army of Christ, after the fight of many of the admirable Acts of his providence for them, begun to take up steddy resolution through the helpe of him to wade through the Ocean, they were farther like to meete withall, and therefore began to plant the yet untilld Earth, having as yet no other meanes to teare up the bushy lands, but their hands and howes, their bodies being in very ill temper by reason of the Scurvy (a Disease in those dayes very frequent) to undergoe such extremity, but being prick'd on with hungers sharpe gode, they keepe doing according to their weake abilities, and yet produce but little food for a long season, but being perswaded that Christ will rather raine bread from Heaven, then his people should want, being fully perswaded, they were set on the worke at his command. . . .

Although the great straites this Wildernesse people were in for want of food, was heard of among the godly people in *England*, yet would they not decline the worke, but men of Estates sold their possessions, and bought plenty of foode for the Voyage which some of them sent before hand, by which meanes they were provided for, as also the Lord put it into the hearts of such as were Masters, and Undertakers of Ships to store their Vessells so well that they had to spare for this peoples need, and further Christ caused abundance of very good Fish to come to their Nets and Hookes, and as for such as were unprovided with these



meanes, they caught them with their hands, and so with Fish, wild Onions and other Herbs were sweetly satisfied till other provisions came in. . . .

*Of the gracious goodnesse of God, in hearing his peoples prayers in times of need, and of the Ship-loades of goods the Lord sent them in.*

Here againe the admirable Providence of the Lord is to be noted, That whereas the Country is naturally subject to drought, even to the withering of their summers Fruits, the Lord was pleased, during these yeares of scarcity, to blesse that small quantity of Land they planted with seasonable showers, and that many times to the great admiration of the Heathen, for thus it befell: the extreame parching heate of the Sun (by reason of a more constant clearnesse of the Aire then usually is in *England*) began to scorch the Herbs and Fruits, which was the chiefeest meanes of their livelyhood, they beholding the Hand of the Lord stretched out against them, like tender hearted Children, they fell down on their knees, begging mercy of the Lord, for their Saviours sake, urging this as a chiefe argument, that the malignant adversary would rejoyce in their destruction, and blaspheme the pure Ordinances of CHRIST, trampling down his Kingly Commands with their owne inventions, and in uttering these words, their eyes dropped down many teares, their affections prevailing so strong, that they could not refraine in the Church-Assembly. Here admire and be strong in the Grace of Christ, all you that hopefully belong unto him, for as they powred out water before the Lord, so at that very instant, the Lord showred down water on their Gardens and Fields, which with great industry they had planted, and now had not the Lord caused it to raine speedily, their hope of food had beene lost: but at this these poore wormes were so exceedingly taken, that the Lord should shew himselfe so neere unto their Prayers, that as the drops from Heaven fell thicker, and faster, so the teares from their eyes by reason of the sudden mixture of joy and sorrow, and verily they were exceedingly stirred in their affections, being unable to resolve themselves, which mercy was greatest, to have a humble begging heart given them of God, or to have their request so suddenly answered.

The *Indians* hearing hereof, and seeing the sweet raine that fell, were much taken with Englishmens God, but the Lord seeing



his poore peoples hearts were to narrow to beg, his bounties exceeds toward them at this time, as indeed hee ever hitherto hath done for this Wildernesse-People, not onely giving the full of their requests, but beyond all their thoughts, as witnesse his great worke in *England* of late, in which the prayers of Gods people in *New England* have had a great stroke; These people now rising from their knees to receive the rich mercies of Christ, in the refreshed fruits of the Earth; Behold the Sea also bringing in whole Ship-loades of mercies, more being filled with fresh forces, for furthering this wonderfull worke of Christ, and indeed this yeare came in many pretious ones, whom Christ in his grace hath made much use of in these his Churches, and Commonwealth, insomuch that these people were even almost overballanced with the great income of their present possessed mercies, yet they addresse themselves to the Sea shore, where they courteously welcom the famous servant of Christ, grave godly and judicious *Hooker*, and the honoured servant of Christ, M *John Haynes*, as also the Reverend and much desired Mr. *John Cotton*, and the Reticall, Mr. *Stone*, with divers others of the sincere servants of Christ, comming with their young, and with their old, and with their whole substance, to doe him service in this Desart wildernesse. Thus this poore people having now tasted liberally of the salvation of the Lord every way, they deeme it high time to take up the Cup of thankfulness, and pay their vowes to the most high God, by whom they were holpen to this purpose of heart, and accordingly set apart the 16. day of *October* (which they call the eighth Moneth, not out of any pevish humour of singularity, as some are ready to censor them with, but of purpose to prevent the Heathenish and Popish observation of Dayes, Moneths and Yeares, that they may be forgotten among the people of the Lord) this day was solemnly kept by all the seven Churches, rejoycing in the Lord, and rendering thanks for all their benefits.

Here must not be omitted the indeared affections Mr. *John Wilson* had to the worke in hand, exceedingly setting forth (in his Sermon this day) the Grace of Christ in providing such meet helps for furthering thereof, really esteeming them beyond so many Ship-loading of Gold; manifesting the great humility Christ had wrought in him (not complementing, but in very deede preferring the Reverend Mr. *John Cotton*, many hundreds before himselfe, whom they within a very little time after called to the Office

of a Teaching Elder of the Church of Christ at *Boston*, where hee now remaines, of whom as followeth:

*When Christ intends his glorious Kingdome shall  
 Exalted be on Earth, he Earth doth take,  
 Even sinfull Man to make his worthies all;  
 Then praise I Man, no Christ this Man doth make,  
 Sage, sober, grave, and learned Cotten thou:  
 Mighty in Scripture, without Booke repeat it,  
 Annatomise the sence, and shew Man how  
 Great mysteries in sentence short are seated.  
 Gods Word with's word comparing oft unfould:  
 The secret truths Johns Revelations hath  
 By thee been open'd, as nere was of old;  
 Shewes cleere, and neere 'gainst Romes whore is Gods wrath.  
 Then Churches of Christ, rejoyce and sing,  
 John Cotten hath Gods minde, I dare believe,  
 Since he from Gods Word doth his witnesse bring;  
 Saints cries are heard they shall no longer grieve.  
 That song of songs, 'twixt Christ and's Church thou hast  
 Twice taught to all, and sweetly shewed the way,  
 Christ would his Churches should, in truth stand fast;  
 And cast off mans inventions even for aye.  
 Thy labours great have met with catching cheats,  
 Mixing their Brasse with thy bright Gold for why?  
 Thy great esteeme must cover their ill feates,  
 Some soile thou gett'st, by comming them so nie.  
 But i'ts wipt off, and thou Christs Champion left,  
 The faith to fight for Christ hath arm'd thee well,  
 His worthies would not, thou shoulds be bereft,  
 Of honours here thy Crown shall soon excell.*

These people of God having received these farther helps, to instruct, and build them up in the holy things of Christ, being now greatly encouraged, seeing the Lord was pleased to set such a broad Seale to their Commission for the worke in hand, not onely by his Word and Spirit moving thereunto, but also by his Providence in adding such able instruments for furthering this great worke of Reformation, and advancing the Kingdome of Christ, for which they spent this day of rejoycing, and sure the Lord would have all that hear of it know, their joy lay not in the

increase of Corne, or Wine, or Oyle, for of all these they had but very little at this time, yet did they not spare to lend such as they had unto the poore, who could not provide, and verily the joy ended not with the day, for these active instruments of Christ, Preaching with all instancy the glad Tidings of the Gospell of *Iesus Christ*, rejoyced the Heart of this People much.

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Edward Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New England" gives us one of the few authentic original accounts of the settlement of Massachusetts Bay and the founding of Boston. Johnson was himself one of the settlers, coming over with Winthrop in 1630. He returned soon after to England, and came over again with his family in 1636. He resided in Charlestown until 1642, when he became one of the leading settlers of Woburn, being justly termed the "Father of the Town." Here he lived until his death in 1672, devoting himself to public duties in the town and in the General Court of the Colony. His "Wonder-Working Providence"—this being the running title of the book—was published in London in 1654, the full title upon the title-page being as follows: "A History of New-England. From the English planting in the Yeere 1628 until the Yeere 1652. Declaring the forms of their Government, Civill, Military, and Ecclesiastique. Their Wars with the Indians, their Troubles with the Gortonists, and other Heretiques. Their manner of gathering of Churches, the commodities of the Country, and description of the principall Towns and Havens, with the great encouragements to increase Trade betwixt them and Old England. With the names of all their Governours, Magistrates, and Eminent Ministers." The work was published anonymously; "but the true author," as Thomas Prince wrote in the preface of his *Chronology of New England*, "was Mr. Johnson of Woburn in New England, as the late Judge Sewall assured me, as of a thing familiarly known among the fathers of the Massachusetts colony." A full discussion of the authorship and publication of the work, as well as a sketch of the life of Edward Johnson, will be found in the introduction to the edition of the work edited by William F. Poole, published in 1867, which is the critical modern edition, with full notes. The work is in three books; and it is a storehouse of facts connected with the history of Massachusetts from 1628 to 1652. It is a quaint and curious work, interspersed with remarkable poetry, some samples of which are given in the present leaflet, and is particularly full of information touching the early churches of Massachusetts and general religious matters. Generally accurate, its statements, even some of those relating to the earliest days in Boston, need to be read in the light of such critical discussions as those by Mr. Poole. The student is referred for further authorities upon the founding and founders of Boston to the various chapters in the first volume of the *Memorial History of Boston*.

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## Cotton Mather's Tribute to Ezekiel Cheever.

FROM THE FUNERAL SERMON, 1708.

"DUTY to the Merit and Memory of my Departed MASTER, is now in its Operation. The *Fifth Commandment* well considered will demand such a Duty. When *Quirinus* made a Marble Monument for his Master, there was this Effect of it, *Invisunt Locum Studiosi Juvenes frequenter, ut hoc Exemplo Edocti, quantum Discipuli ipsi præceptoribus suis debeant, perpetuo meminisse velint. Scholars* that saw it, Learnt from the Sight what Acknowledgments were due from *Scholars* to their Masters. I with my little feeble *Essay* for Mine, may in any measure animate the Gratitude of any *Scholars* to their Well-deserving Tutors."

"A due Care about a *Funeral* for the Dead, among the *Jews* had that Phrase for it; *A Bestowing of Mercy*. But the *Sermon* which I have Employ'd on the *Funeral* of my Master, must be called; *A Doing of Justice*. And I am very much misinformed, if this were not the *General Voice* of all the Auditory."

"*Perfection* in this Life, is to be *Despaired* of, must not be pretended to." "We must not wonder at it then, if the *Best* of our Masters be thought attended with their *Imperfections*. Whatever mine might have, they are buried. And we generally concur in acknowledging, *That New-England has never known a better*. I am sure, I have as much Reason to appear for him, as ever *Crito* for his Master *Socratès*."

"The *Short History* of his *Long Usefulness*, is to be comprized in the Ensuing Articles.

"He was Born in *London*, many years before the Birth of *New-England*. It was *Jan. 25. 1614*.

"He arrived into this Country, in *June 1637*. with the rest of those Good men, who sought a peaceable Secession in an *American*

Wilderness, for the pure Evangelical, and Instituted Worship of our Great Redeemer; to which he kept a strict Adherence all his Days. He then Sojourned first a little while, part of a Year, at *Boston*; so that at *Boston*, he both Commenced and Concluded his *American* Race. His *Holy* Life, was a *Married* Life.

“He began the Laborious Work of a *School-Master*, at *New-haven*; where he continued for *Twelve* Years.

“From *New-haven*, he removed unto *Ipswich*, in *December*, 1650. where he Laboured Eleven Years.

“From *Ipswich*, he removed to *Charlstown*, in *November*, 1661. where he Laboured Nine Years.

“From *Charlstown*, he came over to *Boston*, *Jan.* 6. 1670. where his Labours were continued for Eight & Thirty Years.

“He Died, on Saturday morning, Aug. 21. 1708. In the Ninety Fourth Year of his Age; After he had been a Skilful, Painful, Faithful *School-master*, for *Seventy* Years; And had the Singular Favour of Heaven, that tho’ he had Usefully spent his Life among *Children*, yet he was not become *Twice a Child*; but held his Abilities, with his Usefulness, in an unusual Degree to the very last.”

The preceding is from the Historical Introduction. In the sermon he says:

“SCHOOL-MASTERS that have *Used the Office well*, purchase to themselves, a *Good Esteem* to Out-live their *Death*, as well as Merit for themselves a good *Support* while they *Live*. ’Tis a Justice to them, that they should be *had in Everlasting Remembrance*; and a *Place* and a *Name* among those *Just men* does particularly belong to that *Ancient* and *Honourable* Man; a *Master in our Israel*; who was with us, the last Time of my Standing here; but is lately Translated unto the *Colledge* of Blessed *Spirits*, in the *Mansions*, where the FIRST RESURRECTION is Waited and Longed for. Allow me the Expression; For I Learn’t it of my Hebrew Masters, among whom, ’tis a phrase for the Death of Learned and Worthy men, *Requisiti sunt in Academiam Cælestem*.”

“*Verrius* the Master to the Nephews of *Augustus*, had a *Statue* Erected for him; And *Antoninus* obtained from the Senate, a *Statue* for his Master *Fronto*. I am sorry that Mine has none. And *Cato* counted it more glorious than any *Statue*, to have it asked, *Why has he None?* But in the grateful Memories of his *Scholars*, there have been and will be Hundreds Erected for him.”

“Under him we Learnt an *Oration*, made by *Tully*, in praise of his own *Master*; namely that, *Pro Archia Poeta*. A *Pagan*

shall not out-do *us*, in our *Gratitude* unto our Master. There was a famous *Christian* in the Primitive Times, who wrote a whole Book, in praise of his Master *Hierotheus*; Entituling it, *περι του μακαριου Ιεροθεου Concerning the Blessed Hierotheus*. And if I now say a few things, *Concerning the Blessed CHEEVER*, no man who thinks well of *Gratitude*, or likes well to see the *Fifth Commandment* observed, will censure it."

"In the *Imperial Law*, we read, that Good *Grammarians*, having taught with diligence *Twenty Years*, were to have Special Honour conferr'd upon them. I Challenge for MY MASTER, more than a *Treble portion* of that *Special Honour*. But, Oh, Let it all pass thro' him, up to the Glorious LORD, who made him to be what he was!"

"His Eminent Abilities for the Work, which rendred him so long Useful in his Generation, were universally acknowledged. The next Edition of, *Tranquillus de Claris Grammaticis*, may well enough bring him into the Catalogue, and acknowledge him a *Master*. He was not a *Meer Grammarian*; yet he was a *Pure One*. And let no Envy *Misconstrue* it, if I say, It was noted, that when *Scholars* came to be Admitted into the *Colledge*, they who came from the *Cheeverian Education*, were generally the most unexceptionable. What *Exception* shall be made, Let it fall upon *him*, that is now speaking of it."

"He flourished so long in this Great Work, of bringing our *Sons* to be *Men*, that it gave him an opportunity to send forth many *Bezaleels* and *Aholiab*s for the Service of the *Tabernacle*; and Men fitted for all Good Employments. He that was *my Master*, Seven and Thirty Years ago, was a *Master* to many of my Betters, no less than Seventy Years ago; so long ago, that I must even mention *my Fathers Tutor* for one of them."

"And as it is written for the Lasting Renown of the *Corderius*, whose *Colloquies* he taught us; That the Great CALVIN had been a Scholar to him; So this our AMERICAN *Corderius* had many Scholars that were a *Crown* unto him; yea, many that will be his *Crown*, in the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his Coming; yea, many that were got into the *Heavenly World* before him. And the mention of the *Heavenly World*, leads me to that which I would principally take notice of. His PIETY, I say, His PIETY; and his care to infuse *Documents of Piety* into the Scholars under his Charge, that he might carry them with him to the *Heavenly World*. When *Aristotle* set up a Monument for his Master *Plato*, he inscribed upon it, this Testimony, HE WAS ONE



WHOM ALL GOOD MEN OUGHT TO IMITATE, AS WELL AS TO CELEBRATE. MY MASTER went thro' his Hard Work with so much *Delight* in it, as a Work for GOD and CHRIST, and His People: He so constantly *Pray'd* with us every *Day*, and *Catechis'd* us every *Week*, and let fall such Holy *Counsels* upon us; He took so many Occasions, to make *Speeches* unto us, that should make us Afraid of Sin, and of incurring the fearful Judgments of God by Sin; That I do propose him for *Imitation*."

The sermon concludes as follows: "*Ye have heard*, what MY MASTER was, *In the School*. Sir Walter Rawleigh commends it as a piece of wisdom, to use great *moderation* when we are treating men with *Commendation*. I will not forget the Rule, in carrying on my Commendation of *my Master*. But I will say very *much in a Little*. Out of the *School*, he was One, *Antiqua Fide, priscis moribus*; A Christian of the *Old Fashion*: AN OLD NEW-ENGLISH CHRISTIAN: And I may tell you, That was as Venerable a Sight, as the World, since the Days of *Primitive Christianity*, has ever look'd upon."

"He was well Studied in the *Body of Divinity*: An Able Defender of the *Faith and Order of the Gospel*; Notably Conversant and Acquainted with the *Scriptural Prophecies*; And, by Consequence, *A Sober Chiliast*.

"He Lived as a *Master*, the Term, which has been for above three thousand years, assign'd for the Life of a *Man*; he continued unto the *Ninety Fourth* year of his Age, an unusual Instance of *Liveliness*. His *Intellectual Force*, as little abated as his *Natural*. He Exemplified the Fulfilment of that word, *As thy Days, so shall thy Strength be*; in the Gloss which the *Jerusalem Targum* has put upon it; *As thou wast in the Dayes of thy Youth, such thou shalt be in thy Old Age*. The Reward of his *Fruitfulness*! For, *Fructus Liberat Arborem*! The product of *Temperance*; Rather than what my Lord *Verulam* assigns, as a Reason for *Vivacious Scholars*."

"DEATH must now do its part. *He Dy'd*, Longing for *Death*. Our old SIMEON waited for it, that he might get nearer to the *Consolation of Israel*. *He Dyed* Leaning like Old *Jacob*, upon a *Staff*; the *Sacrifice* and the *Righteousness* of a Glorious CHRIST, he let us know, was the *Golden Staff*, which he Lean'd upon. *He Dyed* mourning for the Quick *Apostasie*, which he saw breaking in upon us; very easie about his own Eternal Happiness, but full of Distress for a poor People here under the Displeasure of Heaven, for *Former Iniquities*, he thought, as well as *Later*

Ones. To say no more: He Dyed, A CANDIDATE FOR THE FIRST RESURRECTION. And Verily, our Land is Weakened, when those Fly away, at whose Flight we may cry out, *My Father, My Father, the Chariots of New England, and the Horsemen thereof.*"

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GRATITUDINIS ERGO.

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An ESSAY on the Memory of my Venerable MASTER;

Ezekiel Cheever.

*Augusto perstringere Carmine Laudes.  
Quas nulla Eloquij vis Celebrare queat.*

You that are *Men*, & Thoughts of *Manhood* know  
Be Just now to the *Man* that made you so.  
*Martyr'd* by *Scholars* the stabb'd *Cassian* dies,  
And falls to cursed Lads a Sacrifice.  
Not so my CHEEVER; Not by *Scholars* slain,  
But Prais'd and Lov'd, and wish'd to *Life* again.  
A mighty *Tribe* of Well-instructed Youth  
Tell what they owe to him, and Tell with Truth,  
All the *Eight parts of Speech* he taught to them  
They now Employ to *Trumpet* his Esteem.  
They fill *Fames Trumpet*, and they spread a Fame  
To last till the *Last Trumpet* drown the same.  
*Magister* pleas'd them well, because 'twas *he*;  
They saw that *Bonus* did with it agree.  
While they said, *Amo*, they the Hint improve  
*Him* for to make the Object of their *Love*  
No *Concord* so Inviolable they knew  
As to pay Honours to their Master due.  
With *Interjections* they break off at last,  
But, *Ah*, is all they use, *Wo*, and, *Alas!*  
We Learnt *Prosodia*, but with that Design  
Our Masters Name should in our *Verses* shine.  
Our Weeping *Ovid* but instructed us  
To write upon *his* Death, *De Tristibus*.  
*Tully* we read, but still with this Intent,  
That in *his* praise we might be Eloquent.  
Our Stately *Virgil* made us but Contrive  
As our *Anchises* to keep *him* Alive.

When *Phœnix* to *Achilles* was assign'd  
 A *Master*, then we thought not *Homer* blind:  
 A *Phœnix*, which Oh! might his *Ashes* shew!  
 So rare a Thing we thought *our Master* too.  
 And if we made a *Theme*, 'twas with Regret  
 We might not on *his Worth* show all our Wit.

Go on, ye Grateful Scholars, to proclame  
 To late Posterity your *Masters Name*.  
 Let it as many Languages declare  
 As on *Loretto-Table* do appear.

Too much to be by any *one* exprest:  
*I'll* tell my share, and *you* shall tell the rest.  
*Ink* is too vile a Liquor; *Liquid Gold*  
 Should fill the Pen, by which such things are told.  
 The Book should *Amyanthus-Paper* be  
 All writ with *Gold*, from all corruption free.

A Learned Master of the *Languages*  
 Which to Rich *Stores* of Learning are the *Keyes*:  
 He taught us first *Good Sense*, to understand  
 And put the *Golden Keyes* into our Hand,  
 We but for him had been for Learning *Dumb*,  
 And had a sort of *Turkish Mutes* become.  
 Were *Grammar* quite Extinct, yet at his Brain  
 The *Candle* might have well been lit again.  
 If *Rhet'rick* had been stript of all her *Pride*  
 She from his *Wardrobe* might have been *Supply'd*.  
 Do but Name *CHEEVER*, and the *Echo* straight  
 Upon that Name, *Good Latin*, will Repeat.  
 A *Christian Terence*, Master of the *File*  
 That arms the Curious to Reform their *Style*.  
 Now *Rome* and *Athens* from their *Ashes* rise;  
 See their *Platonick Year* with vast surprize:  
 And in our *School* a *Miracle* is wrought;  
 For the *Dead Languages* to *Life* are brought.

His *Work* he Lov'd: Oh! had we done the same!  
 Our *Play-dayes* still to him ungrateful came.  
 And yet so well our *Work* adjusted Lay,  
 We came to *Work*, as if we came to *Play*.

Our *Lads* had been, but for his wondrous Cares,  
*Boyes* of my Lady *Mores* unquiet Pray'rs:  
 Sure were it not for such informing *Schools*,  
 Our *Lat'ran* too would soon be fill'd with *Owles*.



Tis CORLET'S pains, & CHEEVER'S, we must own,  
 That thou, *New-England*, art not *Scythia* grown.  
 The *Isles* of *Silly* had o're-run this Day  
 The *Continent* of our *America*.

*Grammar* he taught, which 'twas his work to do:  
 But he would *Hagar* have her place to know.

The *Bible* is the Sacred *Grammar*, where  
 The *Rules of speaking well*, contained are.  
 He taught us *Lilly*, and he *Gospel* taught;  
 And us poor Children to our *Saviour* brought.  
*Master of Sentences*, he gave us more  
 Than we in our *Sententiæ* had before.  
 We Learn't Good Things in *Tullies Offices*;  
 But we from *him* Learn't Better things than these.  
 With *Cato's* he to us the *Higher* gave  
 Lessons of *JESUS*, that our Souls do save.  
 We Constru'd *Ovid's Metamorphosis*,  
 But on our selves charg'd, not a *Change* to miss.  
 Young *Austin* wept, when he saw *Dido* dead,  
 Tho' not a Tear for a *Lost Soul* he had:  
 Our Master would not let us be so vain,  
 But us from *Virgil* did to *David* train,  
*Textors Epistles* would not *Cloathe* our Souls;  
*Pauls* too we heard; we went to School at *Pauls*.

Syrs, Do you not Remember well the Times,  
 When us he warn'd against our *Youthful Crimes*:  
 What *Honey dropt* from our old *Nestors* mouth  
 When with his Counsels he Reform'd our Youth:  
 How much he did to make us *Wise* and *Good*;  
 And with what *Prayers*, his work he did conclude.  
 Concern'd that when from him we *Learning* had,  
 It might not *Armed Wickedness* be made!  
 The *Sun* shall first the *Zodiac* forsake,  
 And *Stones* unto the *Stars* their Flight shall make;  
 First shall the *Summer* bring large drifts of *Snow*,  
 And beauteous *Cherries* in *December* grow;  
 E're of those Charges we Forgetful are  
 Which we, O *Man of God*, from thee did hear.

Such *Tutors* to the *Little Ones* would be  
 Such that in *Flesh* we should *their Angels* see;  
*Ezekiel* should not be the Name of such;  
 We'd *Agathangelus* not think too much.



Who Serv'd the *School*, the *Church* did not forget;  
 But Thought, and Pray'd, and often wept for it.  
*Mighty in Prayer*: How did he wield thee, Pray'r!  
 Thou Reverst Thunder: CHRIST'S-Sides-piercing Spear?  
 Soaring we saw the *Bird of Paradise*;  
 So Wing'd by Thee, for Flights beyond the Skies.  
 How oft we saw him tread the *Milky Way*,  
 Which to the Glorious *Throne of Mercy* lay!

Come from the *Mount*, he shone with ancient Grace  
 Awful the *Splendor* of his Aged Face.  
*Cloath'd* in the *Good Old Way*, his Garb did wage  
 A War with the Vain Fashions of the Age.  
*Fearful* of nothing more than hateful *Sin*;  
 'Twas that from which he laboured all to win,  
*Zealous*; And in *Truths Cause* ne'r known to trim;  
 No *Neuter Gender* there allow'd by him.  
*Stars* but a *Thousand* did the Ancients know;  
 On later Globes they *Nineteen hundred* grow:  
 Now such a CHEEVER added to the Sphere;  
 Makes an Addition to the *Lustre* there.

Mean time *America* a *Wonder* saw;  
 A *Youth in Age*, forbid by *Natures Law*.  
 You that in t'other Hemisphere do dwell,  
 Do of *Old Age* your dismal Stories tell.  
 You tell of *Snowy Heads* and *Rheumy Eyes*  
 And things that make a man himself despise.  
 You say, a *frozen Liquor* chills the Veins,  
 And scarce the *Shadow* of a *Man* remains.  
*Winter of Life*, that *Sapless Age* you call,  
 And of all *Maladies* the *Hospital*:  
 The *Second Nonage* of the Soul; the *Brain*  
 Cover'd with Cloud; the *Body* all in pain.  
 To weak *Old Age*, you say, there must belong  
 A Trembling Palsey both of *Limb* and *Tongue*;  
*Dayes* all Decrepit; and a Bending *Back*,  
 Propt by a *Staff*, in *Hands* that ever shake.

Nay, Syrs, our CHEEVER shall confute you all,  
 On whom there did none of these Mischefs fall.  
 He *Liv'd* and to vast Age no Illness knew;  
 Till *Times Scythe* waiting for him Rusty grew.  
 He *Liv'd* and *Wrought*; His Labours were Immense;  
 But ne'r *Declin'd* to *Præter-perfect Tense*.

A *Blooming Youth* in him at *Ninety Four*  
 We saw; But, Oh! when such a sight before!  
 At Wondrous *Age* he did his *Youth* resume,  
 As when the *Eagle* mew's his Aged plume.  
 With *Faculties* of *Reason* still so bright,  
 And at Good Services so Exquisite;  
 Sure our sound *Chiliast*, we wondring thought,  
 To the *First Resurrection* is not brought!  
 No, He for That was waiting at the Gate  
 In the *Pure Things* that fit a *Candidate*.  
 He in Good Actions did his Life Employ,  
 And to make others Good, he made his Joy.  
 Thus well-appris'd now of the *Life to Come*,  
 To *Live here* was to him a *Martyrdom*.  
 Our brave *Macrobius* Long'd to see the Day  
 Which others dread, of being *Call'd away*.  
 So, Ripe with Age, he does invite the Hook,  
 Which watchful does for its large Harvest look;  
*Death* gently cut the *Stalk*, and kindly laid  
 Him, where our God His *Granary* has made.

Who at *New-Haven* first began to Teach,  
 Dying *Unshipwreck'd*, does *White-Haven* reach.  
 At that *Fair Haven* they all Storms forget;  
 He there his *DAVENPORT* with Love does meet.

The *Luminous Robe*, the *Loss* whereof with *Shame*  
 Our Parents wept, when *Naked* they became;  
 Those Lovely *Spirits* wear it, and therein  
 Serve God with *Priestly Glory*, free from Sin.

But in his *Paradisian Rest* above,  
 To Us does the Blest Shade retain his Love.  
 With *Rip'ned Thoughts* Above concern'd for Us,  
 We can't but hear him dart his Wishes, thus.

'TUTORS, Be *Strict*; But yet be *Gentle* too:

'Don't by fierce *Cruelties* fair *Hopes* undo.

'Dream not, that they who are to Learning slow,

'Will mend by Arguments in *Ferio*.

'Who keeps the *Golden Fleece*, Oh, let him not

'A *Dragon* be, tho' he *Three Tongues* have got.

'Why can you not to Learning find the way,

'But thro' the Province of *Severus*?

'Twas *Moderatus*, who taught *Origen*;

'A *Youth* which prov'd one of the Best of men.

'The Lads with *Honour* first, and *Reason* Rule.  
 'Blowes are but for the *Refractory Fool*.  
 'But, Oh! First Teach them their Great God to fear;  
 'That you like me, with Joy may meet them here.'  
 H'has said!—

Adieu, a little while, Dear Saint, Adieu;  
 Your *Scholar* won't be Long, Sir, after you.  
 In the mean time, with Gratitude I must  
 Engrave an EPITAPH upon your Dust.  
 'Tis true, *Excessive Merits* rarely safe:  
 Such an Excess forfeits an *Epitaph*.  
 But if Base men the Rules of Justice break,  
 The *Stones* (at least upon the *Tombs*) will speak.

*Et Tumulum facite, et Tumulo superaddite carmen.* (Virg. in-  
 Daphn.)

### EPITAPHIUM.

EZEKIEL CHEEVERUS:

Ludimagister;  
 Primo Neo-portensis;  
 Deinde, Ipsuicensis;  
 Postea, Carolotenensis  
 Postremo, Boston ensis:  
 cujus  
 Doctrinam ac Virtutem  
 Nôsti, si Sis Nov-Anglus,  
 Colis, si non Barbarus;  
 GRAMMATICUS,  
 a Quo, non pure tantum, sed et pie,  
 Loqui;  
 RHETORICUS,  
 a Quo non tantum Ornate dicere  
 coram Hominibus,  
 Sed et Orationes coram Deo fundere  
 Efficacissimas;  
 POETA,  
 a Quo non tantum Carmina pangere,  
 Sed et  
 Caelestes Hymnos, Odasq; Angelicas,  
 canere,

Didicerunt,  
 Qui discere voluerunt;  
 LUCERNA,  
 ad Quam accensa sunt,  
 Quis queat numerare,  
 Quot Ecclesiarum Lumina?  
 Et  
 Qui secum Corpus Theologiae abstulit,  
 Peritissimus THEOLOGUS,  
 Corpus hic suum sibi minus Charum,  
 deposuit.  
 Vixit Annos, XCIV.  
 Docuit, Annos, LXX.  
 Obiit, A.D. M.DCC.VIII.  
 Et quod Mori potuit,  
 HEIC  
 Expectat Exoptatq:  
 Primam Sanctorum Resurrectionem  
 ad  
 Immortalitatem.  
 Exuvijs debetur Honos.

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## THE GRAMMARIANS FUNERAL.

OR, An ELEGY composed upon the Death of Mr. *John Woodmancy*,  
 formerly a School-Master in *Boston*: But now Published upon  
 the DEATH of the Venerable **Dr. Ezekiel Chebers**,

The late and famous School-Master of *Boston* in *New-England*;  
 Who Departed this Life the *Twenty-first* of *August* 1708.  
 Early in the Morning. In the Ninety-fourth Year of his Age.

EIGHT Parts of *Speech* this Day wear *Mourning Gowns*  
 Declin'd *Verbs*, *Pronouns*, *Participles*, *Nouns*.  
 And not declined, *Adverbs* and *Conjunctions*,  
 In *Lillies* *Porch* they stand to do their functions.  
 With *Preposition*; but the most affection  
 Was still observed in the *Interjection*.  
 The *Substantive* seeming the limbed best,  
 Would set an hand to bear him to his Rest.



The *Adjective* with very grief did say,  
 Hold me by strength, or I shall faint away.  
 The Clouds of Tears did over-cast their faces,  
 Yea all were in most lamentable *Cases*.  
 The five *Declensions* did the Work decline,  
 And *Told* the *Pronoun Tu*, The work is thine:  
 But in this case those have no call to go  
 That want the *Vocative*, and can't say O!  
 The *Pronouns* said that if the *Nouns* were there,  
 There was no need of them, they might them spare:  
 But for the sake of *Emphasis* they would,  
 In their Discretion do what ere they could.  
 Great honour was confer'd on *Conjugations*,  
 They were to follow next to the *Relations*.  
*Amo* did love him best, and *Doceo* might  
 Alledge he was his Glory and Delight.  
 But *Lego* said by me he got his skill,  
 And therefore next the *Herse* I follow will.  
*Audio* said little, hearing them so hot,  
 Yet knew by him much Learning he had got.  
*O Verbs* the *Active* were, Or *Passive* sure,  
*Sum* to be *Neuter* could not well endure.  
 But this was common to them all to Moan  
 Their load of grief they could not soon *Depone*.  
 A doleful Day for *Verbs*, they look so *moody*,  
 They drove Spectators to a Mournful Study.  
 The *Verbs* irregular, 'twas thought by some,  
 Would break no rule, if they were pleas'd to come  
*Gaudeo* could not be found; fearing disgrace  
 He had with-drawn, sent *Mæreo* in his Place.  
*Possum* did to the utmost he was able,  
 And bore as Stout as if he'd been A *Table*.  
*Volo* was willing, *Nolo* some-what stout,  
 But *Malo* rather chose, not to stand out.  
*Possum* and *Volo* wish'd all might afford  
 Their help, but had not an *Imperative Word*.  
*Edo* from Service would by no means Swerve,  
 Rather than fail, he thought the *Cakes* to Serve  
*Fio* was taken in a fit, and said,  
 By him a Mournful *POEM* should be made.  
*Fero* was willing for to bear a part,  
 Altho' he did it with an aking heart.

*Feror* excus'd, with grief he was so Torn,  
He could not bear, he needed to be born.

Such *Nouns* and *Verbs* as we defective find,  
No *Grammar* Rule did their attendance bind.  
They were excepted, and exempted hence,  
But *Supines* all did blame for negligence.  
*Verbs* Offspring, *Participles* hand-in-hand,  
Follow, and by the same direction stand:  
The rest Promiscuously did croud and cumber,  
Such Multitudes of each, they wanted Number.  
Next to the Corps to make th' attendance even,  
*Jove*, *Mercury*, *Apollo* came from heaven.  
And *Virgil*, *Cato*, gods, men, Rivers, Winds,  
With *Elegies*, Tears, Sighs, came in their kinds.  
*Ovid* from *Pontus* hast's Apparrell'd thus,  
In Exile-weeds bringing *De Tristibus*:  
And *Homer* sure had been among the Rout,  
But that the Stories say his Eyes were out.  
*Queens*, *Cities* *Countries*, *Islands*, Come  
All Trees, Birds, Fishes, and each Word in *Um*.

What *Syntax* here can you expect to find?  
Where each one bears such discomposed mind.  
Figures of Diction and Construction,  
Do little: Yet stand sadly looking on.  
That such a Train may in their motion *chord*,  
*Prosodia* gives the measure Word for Word.

*Sic Mæstus Cecinit,*

Benj. Tompson.

. The above tribute made to serve for both John Woodmancy and Ezekiel Cheever is here reprinted from the copy published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1889, where it is accompanied by an explanatory word by Dr. Samuel A. Green: "John Woodmancy, the subject of the Elegy, was, without doubt, a master in the Boston Latin School, as it is evident, from the tenor of the lines, that he taught Latin. I am unable to connect him either with Robert Woodmansey, head-master of that school, who died on August 13, 1667, or with John Woodmancy, merchant, who died in the year 1684. . . . Benjamin Tompson, the writer of the lines, was a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1662, and a physician of some repute. He was Mr. Cheever's immediate predecessor as head-master of the school, and a man of various attainments. He was the earliest native American poet, and the author of several printed poems. A list of his works, so far as they were known, appears in Mr. John Langdon Sibley's 'Harvard Graduates' (vol. ii. pp. 109, 110), but 'The Grammarian's Funeral' is not mentioned. There is a sug-

gestion of resemblance between this production and an 'Essay' in metre, which appears at the end of Cotton Mather's sermon on, Ezekiel Cheever, published in the year 1708."

#### AT THE LATIN SCHOOL UNDER EZEKIEL CHEEVER.

The Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, who was born in Boston, Nov. 6, 1681, thus speaks in his Autobiography \* of his early days at the Latin school: "In the spring [1689], of my eighth year I was sent to the grammar-school, under the tuition of the aged, venerable, and justly famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever. But after a few weeks, an odd accident drove me from the school. There was an older lad entered the school the same week with me; we strove who should outdo; and he beat me by the help of a brother in the upper class, who stood behind master with the accidence open for him to read out off; by which means he could recite his [ ] *three* and four times in a forenoon, *and the same in the afternoon*; but I who had no such *help, and was* obliged to commit all to memory, could not keep pace with him; so that he would be always one lesson before me. My ambition could not bear to be outdone, and in such a fraudulent manner, and therefore I left the school. About this time arrived a dissenting minister from England, who opened a private school for reading, writing, and Latin. My good father put me under his tuition, with whom I spent a year and a half. The gentleman receiving *but little encouragement*, threw up his school, and *returned me to my father, and again* I was sent to my aged Mr. Cheever, *who placed me in the lowest class*; but finding I soon read through my [ ], in a few weeks he advanced me to the [ ], *and the next year made me the head of it.*"

"Though my master advanced me, as above, yet I was a very naughty boy, much given to play, insomuch that he at length openly declared, 'You Barnard, I know you can do well enough if you will; but you are so full of play that you hinder your classmates from getting *their lessons*; and therefore, if any of them cannot perform *their duty*, I shall correct you for it.' . . .

"Though I was often beaten for my play, and my little roguish tricks, yet I don't remember that I was ever beaten for my book more than once or twice. One of these was upon this occasion. Master put our class upon turning Æsop's Fables into Latin verse. Some dull fellows made a shift to perform this to acceptance; but I was so much duller at this exercise, that I could make

\* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., 3d Series, v. 177-243.



nothing of it; for which master corrected me, and this he did two or three days going. I had honestly tried my possibles to perform the task; but having no poetical fancy, nor then a capacity opened of expressing the same idea by a variation of phrases, though I was perfectly acquainted with prosody, I found I could do nothing; and therefore plainly told my master, that I had diligently labored all I could to perform what he required, and perceiving I had no genius for it, I thought it was in vain to strive against nature any longer; and he never more required it of me. Nor had I anything of a poetical genius till after I had been at College some time, when upon reading some of Mr. Cowley's works, I was highly pleased, and a new scene opened before me."

"I remember once, in making a piece of Latin, my master found fault with the syntax of one word, which was not so used by me heedlessly, but designedly, and therefore I told him there was a plain grammar rule for it. He angrily replied, there was no such rule. I took the grammar and showed the rule to him. Then he smilingly said, 'Thou art a brave boy; I had forgot it.' And no wonder; for he was then above eighty years old."

The Boston Latin School was established when, on the "13th of the 2d moneth 1635 . . . Att a General meeting upon public notice . . . it was . . . generally agreed upon, that our brother Philemon Pormort shall be intreated to become schole-master for the teaching and nourtering of children with us." It is believed that the establishment of the school is largely due to John Cotton, who brought with him to Boston a knowledge of the High School which was founded by Philip and Mary in 1554 in Boston, in Lincolnshire, England, in which Latin and Greek were taught. Cotton came over in 1633. Two years later the Free School was established; and Cotton's will provides that under certain contingencies half of his estate should go to Harvard College and half to the Free School of Boston. Little is known of Philemon Pormort, the first master. He seems to have followed Wheelwright (banished for his adhesion to Mrs. Hutchinson) to Exeter, N.H., and subsequently to have gone to Wells, Me., and to have returned to Boston about 1642. In August, 1636, a subscription was made, "by the richer inhabitants, toward the maintenance of a free schoolmaster for the youth with us"; and Daniel Maude, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who came to America in 1635, and was then about fifty years old, was chosen to the office. Mr. Maude is called "a good man, of a serious spirit, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition." In 1643 he went to Dover, N.H., as minister to the congregation there, and remained until his death in 1645. In 1637 a garden plot was assigned to "Mr. Danyell Maude schole-master on condition of his building thereon if need be." There is some doubt as to whether Mr. Maude was an associate or successor of Mr. Pormort, but since Mr. Pormort is spoken of some years after his return to Boston as the only schoolmaster of the town, it is possible that Mr. Maude may have held the office while Pormort was absent, and that the latter may have resumed it for a while after his return. Besides the subscription referred to, various bequests were made to the school, and the records speak of the lease of lands or the loan of legacies originally given for its benefit. The town early appropriated to its support the rents of some of the islands in the harbor. In August, 1645, it was voted "to allow forever £50 to the master, and an house, and £30 to an Usher . . . and Indians' children were to be taught gratis."

The first school-house was on the present School Street, in the rear of King's Chapel, where the statue of Franklin now stands: the second school-house was almost directly opposite. Mr. Maude's successor was a Mr. Woodbridge; he was succeeded by Robert Woodmansey. Then came Benjamin Tompson; and on December 20, 1670, the famous Ezekiel Cheever, then a teacher at Charlestown, was invited to become the master, and remained such until his death in 1708. He was succeeded by Nathaniel Williams, who is supposed to have been educated at the school, and thus the first pupil to become its master. His successor was the celebrated John Lovell, who for four years had been assistant master, and remained as head-master for forty-two years, down to the outbreak of the Revolution. Being



a rigid loyalist, he retired to Halifax when Boston was evacuated, and there closed his life. Harrison Gray Otis, one of his pupils, tells the story of coming to school on April 19, 1775, and finding Percy's brigade drawn up across the head of School Street. He entered the room just in time to hear Master Lovell dismiss the boys with the words: "War's begun and school's done: *Deponite libros.*"

There is an excellent history of the Boston Latin School by Henry F. Jenks. Founded before Harvard College, its history has been more illustrious than that of any other school in the country. Among its famous pupils have been Benjamin Franklin, Cotton Mather, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Edward Everett, Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, William M. Evarts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, John Lothrop Motley, Francis Parkman, Henry Ward Beecher, James Freeman Clarke, Charles W. Eliot, Phillips Brooks, and Edward Everett Hale. Dr. Hale, as president of the Latin School Association, presided at the celebration on the 250th anniversary of the founding, in 1885, at which Phillips Brooks gave the oration. An admirable paper by Dr. Hale on the Latin School is reprinted in the appendix to Elizabeth Porter Gould's excellent little volume on "Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster," for which Dr. Hale also furnished the introduction. Phillips Brooks's oration is the noblest and most memorable modern address upon the Latin School. It contains an interesting passage upon Cheever.

Ezekiel Cheever was born in London in 1614. There is a tradition that he was a pupil at St. Paul's School in London, which was also the school of John Milton, who was Cheever's senior by six years; but information upon this point is not accurate. He came to Boston in New England in 1637, and went soon to New Haven, where he married and taught school in his own house, Michael Wigglesworth being one of his pupils there. He seems to have preached occasionally, and he got into some trouble with the New Haven brethren, the particulars of which are given in an account of his trial before the church, which has been printed from a contemporary manuscript in the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society (i. 22-51). From New Haven he removed, in 1650, to Ipswich, Mass., becoming the first master of the Ipswich Free School or Grammar School. In 1661 he moved to Charlestown, and entered upon the duties of schoolmaster there, remaining in Charlestown until he came to Boston in 1670. It was agreed that he should be allowed £60 per annum for his service as master of the Latin School, together with the "rents that belong to the school—and the possession and use of the school-house." Fifty-six years old when he took the mastership of the Latin School, he held the position for thirty-seven years. Judge Sewall speaks of him as "having labored in his calling as teacher skillfully, diligently, constantly, religiously, seventy years—a rare instance of piety, health, strength, serviceableness." Governor Hutchinson spoke of him when he died as "venerable not merely for his great age, ninety-four, but for having been the schoolmaster of most of the principal gentlemen in Boston who were then upon the stage. He is not the only master who kept his lamp longer lighted than otherwise it would have been, by a supply of oil from his scholars." As touching his personal appearance, we read in one place that "he wore a long white beard terminating in a point; that when he stroked his beard to the point, it was a sign for the boys to stand clear." An interesting picture of life in the Latin School in Cheever's time is given us in the Autobiography of Rev. John Barnard (Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d Series, v.). Concerning Cheever's last days we have details in the Diary of Judge Sewall, who visited him each day. He was buried from the school-house, and "a handsome Latin oration in his honor" was delivered at the funeral by Mr. Williams, his successor. Cotton Mather, immediately after his death, preached the sermon in his honor from which the passages in the present Leaflet are taken, and which, together with the elegy and epitaph, was published, with the title: "Corderius Americanus. An Essay upon the Good Education of Children, and what may hopefully be attempted for the use of the Flock, in a Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Ezekiel Cheever."

Cheever was the author of a work entitled "Scripture Prophecies Explained." His little "Accidence" was the most famous and widely circulated of all early American Latin grammars. It was probably written while he was in New Haven, and it went through many editions before the Revolution. The eighteenth edition was published in 1785, the twentieth in 1838. The young people should look up in the libraries this little Latin grammar by Ezekiel Cheever, from which the fathers for more than a century learned their Latin, and compare it with their own Latin grammars to-day. Students may consult the scholarly work by John T. Hassam upon "Ezekiel Cheever and Some of his Descendants," and the more popular book by Miss Gould mentioned above. See also the "Biographical Sketch of Ezekiel Cheever, with Notes on the Free Schools and Early School-books of New England," by Henry Barnard.

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## Anne Hutchinson in Massachusetts.

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FROM GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S HISTORY OF MASSACHU-  
SETTS BAY.

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In the year 1636, Mr. Vane was chosen governor, Mr. Winthrop deputy governor, and Mr. Harlakenden, who came in the same ship with Mr. Vane, was added to the assistants. The people of the colony very early discovered that they were not without disposition to novelty and change. It was not merely out of policy to encourage others that they took early notice of such as came over from year to year. Besides this motive, they were easily captivated with the appearance only of wisdom and piety, professions of a regard to liberty and of a strong attachment to the public interest. Mr. Haynes, who seemed to stand most in the way of Mr. Winthrop, had left the colony and was settled at Connecticut, and Mr. Winthrop would have had a good prospect of recovering his former share of the people's favour, if Mr. Vane's grave solemn deportment, although he was not then above 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almost the whole colony in his favour. There was a great friendship between Mr. Cotton and him, which seems to have continued to the last.\* He had great respect shewn him at first. He took more state upon him than any governor had ever done before. When he went either to court or to church, four serjeants walked before him with their halberds. His administration for several months met with great applause. Towards the end of the year the people grew discontented. He perceived it, and grew weary

\* A small house which he lived in, at the side of the hill above Queen-street, he gave to Mr. Cotton, who made an addition to it after Mr. Vane went away, and lived and died there.

of the government. Receiving letters from London in December, urging his return home, he first communicated them to the council, and then called the general court together to ask their consent to his quitting the administration. He declared to them the necessity of his departure, and such of the council, as had seen the letters, affirmed that the reasons were very urgent, but not fit to be imparted to the whole court. The court took time until the morning to consider, when one of the assistants lamenting the loss of such a governor in a time of such danger, both from French and Indians, the governor burst into tears and professed that howsoever the causes propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all than gone from them at such a time, if something else had not pressed him more, viz. the inevitable danger of God's judgments, which he feared were coming upon them for the differences and dissensions which he saw amongst them, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all, and therefore he thought it was best for him to give place for a time. The court did not think fit to consent to his going for such reasons. He found he had gone too far, and recalled himself, professing that the reasons which concerned his own estate were sufficient to satisfy him, and therefore desired he might have leave; the other passage slipped from him out of passion, not judgment. Whereupon the court agreed that it was necessary to give way to his departure, and ordered another meeting of the general court to make choice of a governor and deputy governor,\* and as it was in the midst of winter (15 December) the freemen had liberty to send their votes in writing, if they did not come in person. Some of the church of Boston, loth to part with the governor, met together and agreed that it was not necessary, for the reasons alledged, that the governor should depart, and sent some of their number to signify as much to the court. The governor pretended to be overpowered, and expressed himself to be such an obedient son of the church, that notwithstanding the licence of the court, yet without the consent of the church he durst not go away. A great part of the people, who were informed of this transaction, declared their purpose still to continue him; and it was thought advisable, when the day appointed for election came, to adjourn the court to May, the time of the annual choice.† Mr. Vane

\* In case the deputy should be chose governor as was expected.

† Mass. Records.—*Hubbard*.



has been charged with as dark dissimulation, a few years after, in affairs of vastly greater importance; particularly, in the manner of giving his testimony in the case of the Earl of Strafford.

There came over with Mr. Cotton, or about the same time, Mr. Hutchinson, and his family, who had lived at Alford in the neighbourhood of Boston. Mr. Hutchinson had a good estate and was of good reputation. His wife, as Mr. Cotton says, "was well beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference and blessed God for her fruitful discourses."\* After she came to New England, she was treated with respect, and much notice was taken of her by Mr. Cotton and other principal persons, and particularly by Mr. Vane, the governor. Her husband served in the general court, several elections, as a representative for Boston, until he was excused at the desire of the church.† So much respect seems to have increased her natural vanity. Countenanced and encouraged by Mr. Vane and Mr. Cotton, she advanced doctrines and opinions which involved the colony in disputes and contentions; and being improved, to civil as well as religious purposes, had like to have produced ruin both to church and state. The vigilance of some, of whom Mr. Winthrop was the chief, prevented, and turned the ruin from the country upon herself and many of her family and particular friends. Mr. Wheelwright, a zealous minister, of character for learning and piety, was her brother-in-law and firmly attached to her, and finally suffered with her. Besides the meetings for public worship on the Lord's day, the stated lecture every Thursday in Boston, and other occasional lectures in other towns, there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson thought fit to set up a meeting of the sisters also, where she repeated the sermons preached the Lord's day before, adding her remarks and expositions. Her lectures made much noise, and sixty or eighty principal women attended them. At first, they were generally approved of. After some time, it appeared she had distinguished the ministers and members of churches through the country; a small part of them under a covenant of grace, the rest under a covenant of works. The whole colony was soon divided into two parties; and however distant one party was from the other in principle, they were still more so in affection.

\* Answer to Bailey.

† Mr. William Hutchinson was discharged from assisting at the particular courts at the request of the church. *Mass. Rec., Dec., 1636.*



The two capital errors, with which she was charged, were these, "That the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person; and that nothing of sanctification can help to evidence to believers their justification." From these two, a great number of others were said to flow, which were enumerated and condemned at a synod held the next year. The ministers of the several parts of the country, alarmed with these things, came to Boston while the general court was sitting, and some time before the governor, Mr. Vane, asked his dismissal. They conferred with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright upon those two points. The last they both disclaimed, so far as to acknowledge that sanctification did help to evidence justification; the other they qualified, at least by other words; they held the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, but not strictly a personal union, or, as they express it, not a communicating of personal proprieties. The governor not only held with Mr. Cotton, but went further or was more express, and maintained a personal union. Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, denied both, and Mr. Wilson, the other minister of Boston, and many of the ministers in the country, joined with him. A conference of disputation was determined on, which they agreed should be managed in writing, as most likely to tend to peace of the church. When they could not find that the scriptures nor the primitive church, for the first 300 years, ever used the term *προσωπος*, or person, of the Holy Ghost, they generally thought it was best it should be forborn, as being of human invention. Upon the other question, Mr. Cotton in a sermon, the day the court met, had acknowledged that evident sanctification is a ground of justification, and went on to say that, in cases of spiritual desertion, true desire of sanctification was found to be sanctification, as divines usually held; and further, if a man was laid so flat upon the ground as that he could see no desires, but only as a bruised reed did wait at the foot of Christ, yet here was a matter of comfort, for this was found to be true sanctification in the root and principle of it. Mr. Vane and he both denied that any of these or any degree of sanctification could be evident without a concurrent sight of justification.\* The town and country were distracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman who had brains enough to form some imperfect conceptions of them inferred and maintained some other point, such as these: "a man is justified before he believes; faith is no cause of justification; and

\* Hubbard.

if faith be before justification, it is only a passive faith, an empty vessel, &c., and assurance is by immediate revelation only." The fear of God and love of our neighbour seemed to be laid by and out of the question. All the church of Boston, except four or five, joined with Mr. Cotton. Mr. Wilson, the other minister, and most of the ministers in the country, opposed him.

To increase the flame, Mr. Wheelwright preached a sermon (Jan. 19) in which, besides carrying antinomianism to the height, he made use of some expressions which were laid hold of by the court as tending to sedition; for which he was sent for and examined whilst Mr. Vane was in office, but a full enquiry and determination was suspended until a more convenient time.

Whilst these contentions were thus increasing within, the Pequods, the most warlike of all the Indians, were plotting destruction from without. After Stone and his company were murdered, they sent messengers to Boston to make peace, pretending that the murder was committed by a few bad fellows who had fled to the Dutch. Their ambassadors were courteously treated, and the terms of peace were agreed on. In confidence of their fidelity, John Oldham, of whom mention has been made before, went in a small bark to trade with the Indians at Block Island. They murdered him, but spared two boys and two Naraganset Indians who were of his company. The murderers were discovered by the crew of a small vessel, one Gallop master from Connecticut, which happened to come upon them soon after the fact. Gallop had with him only one man and two boys, and no arms except two muskets and two pistols. Altho' the deck was full of Indians who had guns, swords, &c., yet, as they were then not much used to them, they made but little resistance, and when he boarded the vessel they jumped into the sea and many of them were drowned. He found Oldham's body not cold, his brains beat out, and his limbs hacked off. Block Island was under the Naraganset Indians, but they denied their having any concern in the murder. The murderers were sheltered and protected by the Pequods, who at the same time surprized divers English in Connecticut river. These proceedings caused the Massachusetts to send fourscore men, by water, under Captain Endicot, who had instructions to offer peace to the Indians upon their delivering up the murtherers; if they refused to do it, then to attack them. A great number of them entered into some sort of parley by a messenger and interpreter, keeping at a great distance themselves; but, as soon as they knew

the terms, they fled into the woods. Winter was approaching, and Mr. Endicot thought it adviseable to return home in order to prepare for a more general attack the next summer. There were some severe reflections cast upon him for not pursuing the enemy at that time. The Pequods, in the winter, attempted an union with the Naragansets. There had been a fixed inveterate enmity between the two tribes, but on this occasion the Pequods were willing to smother it, their enmity against the English being the strongest of the two; and although they had never heard the story of Polyphemé and Ulysses, yet they artfully urged that the English were come to dispossess them of their country, and that all the Naragansets could hope for from their friendship was the favour of being the last devoured; whereas, if the Indians would unite, they might easily destroy the English, or force them to leave the country, without being exposed themselves to any hazard. They need not come to open battles: Firing their houses, killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary business, would soon deprive them of all means of subsisting. But the Naragansets \* preferred the present pleasure of revenge upon their mortal enemies to the future happiness of themselves and their posterity.† They are said to have wavered at first, but at length Myantinomo, their chief sachem, with 20 attendants went to Boston, where all the magistrates and ministers were called together to receive them, and a guard of 20 musketeers sent to Roxbury to attend them. They proposed to join in war against the Pequods and that neither English nor Indians should make peace with them, but utterly destroy them. The governor, for form sake, took time, until the next morning, to give an answer, and then the following articles were agreed to.

1. A FIRM and perpetual peace betwixt them and the English.
2. Neither party to make peace with the Pequods without the consent of the other.
3. That the Naragansets should not harbour any Pequods.
4. That they should put to death or deliver up any murderers of the English.
5. That they should return fugitive servants.
6. The English to give them notice when to go out against the Pequods, and the Naragansets to furnish guides.

\* The Naraganset sachem and Uncas, sachem of the Moheges, sent to the English and offered their service to join with them against the Pequods. *Winslow's ans. to Gorton.*

† MS. Journal.



7. Free trade to be carried on between the parties.

8. None of the Naragansets to come near the English plantation, during the war with the Pequods, without some Englishman or Indian known to the English.

Cushamaquin, a sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, also became a party to the treaty.

Indian fidelity is proverbial in New-England, as Punick was in Rome. The Naragansets are said to have kept to the treaty until the Pequods were destroyed, and then they grew insolent and treacherous.

Towards the end of the year religious heats became more violent, and the civil affairs more sensibly affected by them. The people of Boston, in general, were in favour of Mr. Vane, the governor, the rest of the towns, in general, for Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor. At a sessions of the court in March it was moved that the court of elections for 1637 should not be held in Boston, but in Newtown (Cambridge). Nothing could be more mortifying to the governor, and, as he could not hinder the vote by a negative, he refused to put the question. Mr. Winthrop the deputy governor, as he lived in Boston, excused himself, and the court required Mr. Endicot, one of the assistants, to do it. It was carried for the removal.

The more immediate occasion of the court's resentment against Boston was a petition signed by a great number of the principal inhabitants of that town, together with some belonging to other towns, judging and condemning the court for their proceedings against Mr. Wheelwright. At this session, Mr. Vane, the governor, could not prevent a censure upon one Stephen Greensmith, for saying that all the ministers except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and he thought Mr. Hooker preached a covenant of works. He was required to make an acknowledgment to the satisfaction of the magistrates and ministers, was fined forty pounds, &c.\*

At the opening the court of election for 1637, which was not done until one a clock (May 17th), a petition was again offered, from many of the town of Boston, which the governor, Mr. Vane, would have had read, but Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, opposed it as being out of order; this being the day by charter for elections, and the inhabitants all convened for that purpose, if other business was allowed to take up the time, the elections would be prevented; after the elections were over,

\* Mass. Records.



the petition might be read. The governor and those of his party would not proceed unless the petition was read. The time being far spent, and many persons calling for elections,\* the deputy governor called to the people to divide, and the greater number should carry it; which was done, and the majority was for proceeding. Still the governor refused, until the deputy governor told him they would go on without him. This caused him to submit. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, Mr. Dudley deputy governor, Mr. Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, and Mr. Stoughton new assistants; and Mr. Vane and his friends of the same persuasion, Dummer, Haugh and Coddington, left out of the magistracy. There was great danger of a violent tumult that day. The speeches on both sides were fierce, and they began to lay hands on one another, but the manifest majority, on one side, was a restraint to the other.† Boston waited the event of this election of magistrates, before they would chuse their representatives for the other business of the general court, and the next morning they chose Mr. Vane, the late governor, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Haugh. This election of Boston was immediately determined, by the court, to be undue. The reason is not assigned in the record, but it is said,‡ this reason was given, that all the freemen were not notified. A warrant issued for a new choice, and Boston returned the same men again, and then they were not rejected. The serjeants, who used to attend Mr. Vane, laid down their halberds, and went home as soon as the new governor was elected,§ and they refused to attend him to and from the meetings on the Lord's days as had been usual. They pretended this extraordinary respect was shewn to Mr. Vane as a person of quality. The court would have appointed others, but Mr. Winthrop took two of his own servants to attend him. Mr. Vane professed himself ready to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity. He was notwithstanding much mortified, and discovered his resentment. Although he had sat at church among the magistrates from his

\* Mr. Wilson, the minister, in his zeal gat up upon the bough of a tree (it was hot weather and the election like that of parliament men for the counties in England was carried on in the field), and there made a speech, advising the people to look to their charter and to consider the present work of the day, which was designed for the chusing the governor, deputy governor and the rest of the assistants for the government of the commonwealth. His speech was well received by the people, who presently called out, Election, election, which turned the scale. *MS. Life of J. Wilson.*

† Hubbard—Mass. Records.

‡ *Hubbard.*

§ The military companies elected their officers, otherwise the court would undoubtedly have appointed other serjeants.

first arrival, yet he, and those who had been left out with him, placed themselves with the deacons, and when he was invited by the governor to return to his place, he refused it.

An extraordinary act, made by the general court this session, very much heightened the discontent. Many persons of the favourite opinions in Boston were expected from England; a penalty therefore was laid on all persons who should entertain, in their houses, any stranger who came with intent to reside, or should allow the use of any lot or habitation above three weeks, without liberty from one of the standing council or two other assistants. The penalty on private persons was forty pounds, and twenty pounds besides for every month they continued in the offence. And any town, which gave or sold a lot to such stranger, was subject to 100*l.* penalty, but if any inhabitant of such town should enter his dissent with a magistrate, he was to be excused his part of the fine.\* This was a very severe order, and was so disliked by the people of Boston that upon the governor's return from court they all refused to go out to meet him or shew him any respect.† Mr. Winthrop, however firm and resolute in the execution of his office and steady to his principles, yet in private life behaved with much moderation. He was obliging and condescending to all, and by this means, in a short time, recovered their affections and was in greater esteem than ever. Indeed, while Boston thus slighted him, the other towns increased their respect; and in travelling the same summer, to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired.‡

Mr. Vane, in company with Lord Leigh, son of the Earl of Marlborough, who came to see the country, sailed for England the beginning of August, where he had a much larger field opened. The nation at that time was disposed to receive, very favorably, men of his genius and cast of mind. The share he had in the revolution there, and his unhappy fate upon the restoration of King Charles the second, are too well known to need any notice here. He came into New-England under peculiar advantages. His father was one of the privy council. He himself had the friendship of the Lord Say and Seal, who was in the

\* Mass. Records.

† Mr. Cotton was so dissatisfied with this law that he says he intended to have removed out of the jurisdiction to Quinnypiack, since called New-Haven, but finding the law was not improved to exclude such persons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind. *Ans. to Bailey.*

‡ Hubbard.

highest esteem in the colony. He made great professions of religion, and conformed to the peculiar scruples of that day. I have seen a long letter wrote to him while he was on ship-board, by one of the passengers in the same ship, applauding him for honouring God so far as to shorten his hair upon his arrival in England from France, and urging a compleat reformation by bringing it to the primitive length and form. It was with much difficulty he could obtain his father's consent to come over, but his inclination was so strong that, at length, he had leave of absence for three years. It is said that the King, being acquainted with Mr. Vane's disposition, commanded the father, who had no great affection for the religion of New-England, to gratify him.\* However this may have been, it was believed in New-England to be true, and, with the other circumstances mentioned, strongly recommended him. Part of his business was the settlement of Connecticut, in conjunction with Mr. Winthrop, the governor's son, as agents for Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, &c.† The most valuable places for townships had been taken up before, by people from the Massachusetts, as we have already observed; and the agents, not being willing to disturb them, contented themselves, at present, with the possession of the mouth of the river, and Mr. Vane was stopped by the general desire of the colony, in order to his being elected governor. The administration of a young and unexperienced, but obstinate and self-sufficient, governor, could not but be disliked by the major part of the people; and, at the next election, they not only would not so much as chuse him an assistant, but made an order that no man for the time to come should be qualified for the place of governor until he had been at least one whole year in the country.‡ A letter, wrote from New-England, shews the sense they had of him after they had made trial. "Mr. Vane, coming from England a young gentleman, was "presently elected governor, and before he was half warm in his "seat, to show his spirit, began to broach new tenets drawn from

\* *Hubbard.*

† The Earl of Warwick obtained a grant of the sea coast from Naraganset river to the south-west 40 leagues to keep the breadth to the south sea. This he assigned in 1631 to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humfrey, and Herbert Pelham, Esq. These with their associates are the noblemen and gentlemen often mentioned in private letters to be expected over every year; and Mr. Fenwick kept possession and would not suffer settlements until affairs in England had taken such a turn that persons of their character had no occasion for an asylum.

‡ I do not find this order in the records. It is mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, who was then on the spot.



“the lees of one Mr. Wheelwright, agitated with such violence  
 “as if they had been matters of that consequence that the peace  
 “and welfare of New-England must be sacrificed, rather than  
 “they should not take place. Divisions are always dangerous,  
 “never safe, never more dangerous than in a new settled govern-  
 “ment. Yet this man, altogether ignorant of the art of govern-  
 “ment, thinks it not enough to set the house on fire, but must  
 “add oil to the flame, and so far had the bandying of these things  
 “proceeded that it was of God’s great mercy it ended not in our  
 “destruction. It is fit that something should be said of the man  
 “that put us into this danger. Truly, by his aspect, you would  
 “judge him a good man. Yet I am persuaded he hath kindled  
 “those sparks among us which many ages will not be able to  
 “extinguish. But the wisdom of the state put a period to his  
 “government before he had run out his circuit. They were  
 “necessitated to undo the work of their own hands, and leave a  
 “blemish upon that rash undertaking, for posterity to descant  
 “upon, and a caveat to us, that all men are not fit for govern-  
 “ment, and none so dangerous, when he is up, as one that makes  
 “his affection his rule. But this disgrace took so deep an im-  
 “pression, that partly from a sense of it, and partly from a con-  
 “sciousness how ill he had deserved of us through his heat of  
 “indiscretion, he exchanged New-England for Old.” Lord  
 Say and Seal speaking of him, after his arrival in England, in a  
 letter to Mr. Cotton says, “For the young man, Mr. Vane, whom  
 “your love followeth, and its well it doth so, for he may be re-  
 “covered, I have not been wanting to do my endeavour to shew  
 “him the danger of his way, and what hath been the sad issue  
 “thereof in others; from whence I think it cometh, and whither  
 “Satan’s aim is to drive it, as might have appeared to you by  
 “my letters, written to him unto New-England, when I first  
 “did perceive his delusions, if he had shewn my letters to you.  
 “I shall be glad to do my best to that end still; but I have not  
 “that frequent converse with his family, now, as heretofore,  
 “whereof there are the most in Holland, and the rest will shortly  
 “be there also.” \*

\* After all that has been said to the disadvantage of Mr. Vane’s character, it ought to be remembered to his honor that, notwithstanding the slights put upon him by the colony, he shewed a truly christian spirit of forgiveness; for when in the year 1644 an attachment was made of the effects of alderman Berkley of London, in the Massachusetts colony, at the suit of the Lady La Tour, and judgment given for 2000 *l.* sterling and no appeal admitted, a heavy complaint was made against the government, and they were threatened with the loss of their privileges, Sir H. Vane stood their friend and by his great interest with the parliament appeased their resentment and laid the storm which was gathering and hung over them. *M.S. letter.*

The author of the life and death of Sir Henry Vane, printed in 1662, says—“That it was



The party in New-England lost their head. Mrs. Hutchinson, notwithstanding, continued her lectures. The court, for the present, took no notice of her conduct, nor of any erroneous opinions, but waited the determination of the churches in a general council; accordingly a synod was appointed to be held at Newtown, the 30th of August, where were present, not only the ministers and messengers of churches, but the magistrates also, who, Mr. Weld says (I suppose he was a member), were not only hearers, but speakers also, as they thought fit. Mr. Cotton, although at the head of the ministers, was too much a party to be proper for a moderator, and Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bulkley were chosen. Three weeks were spent in disputing, *pro* and *con*, and at length above fourscore points or opinions, said to have been maintained by some or other in the country, were

suggested by the bishops to the then King concerning him that the heir of a considerable family about his Majesty was grown into dislike of the discipline and ceremonies of the church of England, and that his Majesty might do well to take some course about him. On this, the then bishop of London took him to task, who seemed to handle him gently in the conference, but concluded harshly enough against him in the close. In fine, seeing himself on all hands in an evil case, he resolved for New-England. In order to this, striking in with some non-conformists which intended that way, his honourable birth, long hair, and other circumstances of his person rendered his fellow travellers jealous of him as a spy to betray their liberty rather than any way like to advantage their design. But he that they thought at first sight to have too little of Christ for their company did soon after appear to have too much for them. For he had not been long in New-England but he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Christ than the churches there could bear the testimony of. Even New-England could not bear all his words, though there was no King's court or King's chapel. Then he returns for Old England."

The following letter was wrote by a person of quality to a near relation of Sir Henry Vane about a week after his execution.

Madam,

If I do later than others give you an account of the share I have in the loss of your generous kinsman, it is because I would not rudely disturb the motions of so just a sorrow; but I hope that you are assured I have so real a concern in all that relates to you that it is not necessary by an early haste to send you an information of it. I have, Madam, whilst I own a love to my country, a deep interest in the publick loss which so many worthy persons lament. The world is robbed of an unparalleled example of virtue and piety. His great abilities made his enemies persuade themselves that all the revolutions in the last age were wrought by his influence, as if the world was moved only by his engine. In him they lodged all the dying hopes of the party. There was no opportunity that he did not improve for the advantage of his country. And when he was in his last and much deplored state he strove to make the people in love with that freedom they had so foolishly and lavishly thrown away. He was great in all his actions, but to me he seemed greatest in his sufferings, when his enemies seemed to fear that he alone should be able to acquaint them with a change of fortune. In his lowest condition you have seen him the terror of a great prince, strengthened by many potent confederates and armies. You have seen him live in high estimation and honour and certainly he died with it. Men arrive at honours by several ways. The martyrs, though they wanted the glittering crowns the princes of those ages dispensed, have rich ones in every just man's esteem.—Virtue though unfortunate shines in spite of all its enemies, nor is it in any power to deface those lasting monuments your friend hath raised of his in every heart that either knew him or held any intelligence with his fame. But, Madam, I trespass too long upon your patience. This is a subject I am apt to dwell on because I can never say enough of it. I shall now only desire you to make use of that fortitude and virtue that raised your friend above the power and malice of his enemies, and do not by an immoderate sorrow destroy that which was so dear to him, yourself, but live the lively representation of his virtue, the exercise of which hath made you always the admiration of

The 21st June, 1662.

Your humble servant, &c.

*Life of Sir H. Vane.*

condemned as erroneous, and the result was signed by all the members but Mr. Cotton. He had expressed his dislike of most of them, but declined condemning them all, maintaining that union to Christ preceded faith in him, but at the same time declared that the other new opinions were heretical, absurd, and some of them blasphemous, and promised to bear testimony against them.\* This general agreement struck a damp upon the opinionists, and gave further life and vigor to the other party. Mr. Hooker at first disapproved of determining the points in controversy by a synod. He writes to Mr. Shepard of Newtown, April 8, 1636. (It should be 37.) "For your general synod, I cannot yet see either how reasonable or how suitable it will be for your turn, for the settling and establishing the truth in that honourable way as were to be desired. My ground is this. They will be chief agents in the synod who are chief parties in the cause, and for them only, who are prejudiced in the controversy, to pass sentence against cause or person, how improper! how unprofitable! My present thoughts run thus: That such conclusions which are most extra, most erroneous, and cross to the common current, send them over to the godly learned to judge in our own country, and return their apprehensions. I suppose the issue will be more uncontrollable. If any should suggest this was the way to make the clamour too great and loud, and to bring a prejudice upon the plantations, I should soon answer, there is nothing done in corners here but it is openly there related, and in such notorious cases, which cannot be kept secret, the most plain and naked relation ever causeth the truth most to appear, and prevents all groundless and needless jealousies, whereby men are apt to make things more and worse than they are."

Although two of the elders were the moderators, or prolocutors of the assembly, yet Mr. Winthrop seems to have had a controuling power. An anonymous writer of a manuscript, sent from New-England the same year, gives this account of it. "The synod being met, much time is spent in ventilation and emptying of private passions; at length, divers truths are concluded upon, as the nature of grace and faith, the necessity of repentance and good works, the perfection of the scriptures and like truths of common allay were assented unto by common suffrage: But when they came to the nature of the covenant, the qualifications preceding it, the use of it, the seal

\* Hubbard—Johnson.



“of the Spirit, the Helenæs for which they strive, there they were  
 “as different as ever, resolved in nothing but this, that no one  
 “would be resolved by another; but therein was the wisdom  
 “and excellent spirit of the governor seen, silencing passionate  
 “and impertinent speeches as another Constantine, desiring  
 “the divine oracles might be heard speak and express their own  
 “meaning, adjourning the assembly when he saw heat and pas-  
 “sion, so that, through the blessing of God, the assembly is dis-  
 “solved, and jarring and dissonant opinions, if not reconciled,  
 “yet are covered; and they who came together with minds exas-  
 “perated, by this means depart in peace, and promise, by a  
 “mutual covenant, that no difference in opinion shall alienate  
 “their affections any more, but that they will refer doubts to be  
 “resolved, by the great God, at that great day when we shall  
 “appear at his tribunal.” The synod being thus over, the minds  
 of the people were prepared for a further proceeding against  
 the opinionists.\* The court at their sessions, the 2d of No-  
 vember, took notice of the petition, presented and called sedi-  
 tious, in March preceding. They expelled two of their own mem-  
 bers, Aspinwall and Coggeshall, one for signing and the other  
 for justifying it, and sent a warrant to the town of Boston to re-  
 turn two other deputies in their room. The town agreed to  
 send them back, but Mr. Cotton, hearing of it, went to the meet-  
 ing and prevented it; and they chose two others, one of which  
 had signed the petition, and was therefore dismissed.† The  
 court then sent for Mr. Wheelwright, and requiring of him an  
 acknowledgment of his offence, he refused it and justified his  
 conduct; but the court resolved that it tended to disturb the  
 civil peace, disfranchised and banished him, allowing 14 days  
 to settle his affairs, &c.‡

Mrs. Hutchinson was next called to her trial, before the whole  
 court and many of the elders. An ancient manuscript, of the  
 trial at large, having been preserved, discovers nothing in her  
 conduct but what might naturally be expected from a high de-  
 gree of enthusiasm. Her notions of revelations do not seem to  
 have been altogether discountenanced by Mr. Cotton himself.  
 Her sentence upon record stands thus: “Mrs. Hutchinson, the  
 “wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, being convented for traduc-  
 “ing the ministers and their ministry in the country, she declared

\* This spiritual court did not pronounce particular persons to be hereticks, but it deter-  
 mined what was heresy and made the way plain for the secular power to proceed.

† *Hubbard.*

‡ *Mass. Records.*



“voluntarily her revelations, and that she should be delivered  
 “and the court ruined with their posterity, and thereupon was  
 “banished; and, in the mean while, was committed to Mr.  
 “Joseph Weld (of Roxbury) until the court shall dispose of her.”  
 Having received her sentence from the court, she had a further  
 trial to go through in the church. She was first admonished.  
 Mr. Cotton says that Mr. Davenport and he imagined they had  
 convinced her of her errors, and she presented what was called  
 a recantation under her hand, but at the same time professed  
 that she never was of any other judgment than what she now  
 held forth. The recantation is not preserved. She had, no  
 doubt, some fine spun distinctions, too commonly made use of  
 in theological controversies, to serve as a subterfuge, if there be  
 occasion; \* and perhaps, as many other enthusiasts have done,  
 she considered herself divinely commissioned for some great  
 purpose, to obtain which she might think those windings, sub-  
 tleties and insinuations lawful, which will hardly consist with  
 the rules of morality. No wonder she was immoderately vain,  
 when she found magistrates and ministers embracing the novel-  
 ties advanced by her. The whole church of Boston, a few mem-  
 bers excepted, were her converts. At length, she forsook the  
 public assemblies, and set up what she called a purer worship  
 in her own family. It is not probable she was encouraged herein  
 by Mr. Vane, who, some years after, fell into the same practice  
 in England. Mr. Hooker, who had been charged by her with  
 want of soundness in the faith, in return expresses himself with  
 some acrimony concerning her. “The expression of providence  
 “against this wretched woman hath proceeded from the Lord’s  
 “miraculous mercy, and his bare arm hath been discovered  
 “therein from first to last, that all the churches may hear and  
 “fear. I do believe, such a heap of hideous errors, at once to  
 “be vented by such a self-deluding and deluded creature, no his-  
 “tory can record; and yet, after recantation of all, to be cast  
 “out as unsavory salt that she may not continue a pest to the  
 “place, that will be for ever marvellous in the eyes of all the  
 “saints. It will not get out of my mind and heart but there is a  
 “mystery in the closure and upshot of this business; but he, that  
 “carries the wisdom of the crafty headlong, is able to lay open  
 “that also in his season. At the first reading of your relation

\* Mr. Cotton in a letter to Mr. Stone at Hartford says, “Mrs. Hutchinson of whom you  
 “speak, though she publicly revoked the errors, yet affirming her judgment was never other-  
 “wise though her expressions were contrary, she was excommunicated by the whole church,  
 “*nem. con.* Some other of the members that joined with her were gone away before,” &c.

"I could not but suspect so much, may be it is but my melancholick suspicion, but these three things presented themselves, in open view, to my mind, 1. That it was never intended she should be excommunicated. 2. That her recantation was still with so much reservation, as sinks the mind of such who would have made way for her escape, viz. That our election is first evidenced. 3. That this conceit is a nest egg to breed and bring in many other false imaginations, if it be stretched to its breadth. Add also hereunto, that there is no odds from herself but only in some expressions and misprisions that way, as she would have men think, and then you have the whole cause, where it was conceived in a narrower compass and under a double vizard, that the appearance of it may suit every purpose as the occasion fits."

Mr. Hutchinson, her husband, sold his estate and removed with his wife and family, first to Aquidneck \* (Rhode Island), being one of the purchasers of that island from the Indians; where, by the influence of his wife,† the people laid aside Mr. Coddington and three other magistrates, and chose him for their sole ruler; but he dying, about the year 1642, and she being dissatisfied with the people or place, removed to the Dutch country beyond New-Haven; and, the next year, she and all of her family which were with her, being 16 persons, were killed by the Indians, except one daughter whom they carried into captivity.‡

\* Canonicus, chief Sachem of Naraganset and Niantick, sold the island to William Coddington and his associates, March 29, 1637. *MS.*

† *Hubbard.*

‡ For the falshood of her declaration she was excommunicated. Some writers mentioned the manner of her death as being a remarkable judgment of God for her heresies. Her partizans charged the guilt of the murder upon the colony.

The author of that little tract published in 1676, under the title of *A Glass for the People of New-England*, by S. G. (it seems by the language and the malevolent spirit to be Samuel Gorton) says, "The next piece of wickedness I am to mind you of is your barbarous action committed against Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, whom you first imprisoned, then banished, and so exposed her to that desolate condition that she fell into the hands of the Indians, who murdered her and her family except one child; and, after that, made a notorious lie on the destroyed woman, which Samuel Clark, priest of London, taking the lie out of his brother Weld's short story, must needs put into his book, called God's judgments against heresy.—The woman before mentioned having been by the priests and professors pumped and sifted to get something against her, laying their snares to entrap her, and taking their opportunity when her husband and friends, as it was said, were absent, examined and banished her.—So she goes by water with many others who perceived they must go to pot next, and providentially fell in with Rhode Island, where they made a cave or caves and in them lived until the cold winter was past, in which time it was known to the professors where they were and that they had bought the island of the Indians. And the professors began to stir and endeavour to bring the island within the compass of their patent; so the poor molested woman it is like let in fear, and thought she would go far enough from their reach; so going southward to seek a place to settle upon where she and her family might live in quietness, fell upon a piece of land that was in controversy between the Dutch and the Natives, and the Natives being in a heat came upon them



The confusion in the colony, occasioned by these religious disputes, was very great; and it appears, from the letters then wrote from England, that they made great noise there; but, after all, it is highly probable that if Mr. Vane had remained in England, or had not craftily made use of the party which maintained these peculiar opinions in religion, to bring him into civil power and authority and draw the affections of the people from those who were their leaders into the wilderness, these, like many other errors, might have prevailed a short time without any disturbance to the state, and, as the absurdity of them appeared, silently subsided, and posterity would not have known that such a woman as Mrs. Hutchinson ever existed.\* We may suppose that they, who from the beginning had gone along with her in her errors, were not displeased at a good pretence for getting rid of her without condemning themselves. It is difficult to discover, from Mr. Cotton's own account of his principles published ten years afterwards, in his answer to Bailey, wherein he differed from her. Her warm imagination was more wrought upon by the enthusiastic tenet than his placid temper. He seems to have been in danger when she was upon trial. Mr. Dudley, the Deputy governor, bore hard upon him; Hugh Peters shewed that he was well disposed to bring him upon trial. The other ministers treated him coldly, but Mr. Winthrop, whose influence was now greater than ever, protected him. Not long after, in a sermon at a fast, Dec. 13, 1638, he confessed and bewailed the churches and his own security and credulity, by means whereof so many dangerous errors had spread, and shewed how he came to be deceived; the errors being formed, in words, so near the truth which he had preached, and the falsehood of the maintainers of them being such that they usually would deny to him what they had maintained to others.† His conduct in this day of temptation was forgotten and he soon recovered;

and were the executioners of what the New-England priests, magistrates and church members were the occasion through their wicked and cruel proceedings in forcing them to flee from their rage and fury.—So, reader, thou mayst see the rage and envy of this professing generation; for they imprisoned and banished this tenderly bred woman in or towards winter, and, what with fears and tossings to and fro, the woman miscarried, upon which they grounded their abominable untruth. Many witnesses might be produced to prove this and to disprove their abominable frequently told slander, and also printed by priests and New-England professors and their confederates, here in England."

\* A great number of the principal inhabitants, most of them being disarmed and deprived of their civil privileges, removed. Mr. Coddington and Dummer had been assistants, Mr. Hutchinson, Aspinwall and Coggeshall representatives; Rainsford, Sanford, Savage, Eliot, Easton, Bendall, Denison, were all persons of distinction. About 60 were disarmed in Boston besides.

† *Hubbard.*



and, to his death, preserved the esteem and respect of the whole colony.

Mr. Wheelwright went to New-Hampshire, and laid the foundation of the town and church of Exeter; and afterwards removed to Hampton, and from thence to Salisbury. He was restored in 1644, upon a slight acknowledgment. He was in England in 1658, and in favour with Cromwell, as appears by a letter to the church at Hampton. He lived to be the oldest minister in the colony; which would have been taken notice of, if his persecutors had not remained in power.\*

The court, to prevent tumults, required about sixty of the inhabitants of Boston to deliver up their arms and ammunition of every sort, under penalty of 10*l.* upon each person neglecting, and laid the like penalty upon every one of them who should afterwards borrow any arms or ammunition. And, at the same time, made a law to punish any person by fine, imprisonment or banishment, who should defame any court or any of their sentences.

A great number removed out of the jurisdiction, some of them being banished, some disfranchised; more to Rhode Island than to any other place. In a short time, most of them were permitted to return and were restored to their former privileges. The most of those errors, which were condemned by the synod, it's probable, they never would have owned as their principles, and they appear rather to be deduced, by some of the synod, as naturally following from the capital opinions, than to have been advanced by the opinionists themselves; or perhaps may have been unguardedly dropped by particular persons, in the heat of their disputes, or during an enthusiastick frenzy; and in others may have been the effect of a fond fancy for paradoxical tenets. They were charged indeed with principles which admit and introduce all kinds of immorality, and which make no distinction between virtue and vice. So are fatalists and predestinarians. Many of them were afterwards employed in posts of honour and trust, were exemplary in their lives and conversations, and their letters and private papers shew that they were pious and devout, and with the name of antinomians paid the strictest regard to moral virtue. The opinionists were punished for being deluded enthusiasts. The other side were deluded also by a zeal, for the punishment, for the honour of God, of such of his creatures

\* He died in 1680. His son, grandson and great-grandson have been of the council for the province.

as differed in opinion from themselves. It is evident, not only by Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, but by many other public proceedings, that inquisition was made into men's private judgments as well as into their declarations and practice. Toleration was preached against as a sin in rulers which would bring down the judgments of heaven upon the land.\*

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The Antinomian controversy in New England, like most other religious controversies, bears for its synonym the name of an individual, the prime mover of the strife, and the prominent sufferer by the result. In this case that individual was a woman. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson has thus become one of the historic persons of our annals. She was but one of a series of sufferers, one of a line of witnesses, by whose endurance and testimony religion has gained of real power more than what it has lost of arbitrary force for the consciences of human beings. If Providence had designed to offer to the colonists of Massachusetts a succession of opportunities for discovering the error and impolicy and utter futility of their recognized principle of constraint of conscience in religion, it would seem, humanly speaking, as if no train of events could have been more wisely adapted to such an end than that which actually constituted their experience. It is a somewhat curious fact that during the lives of the first generation of settlers upon the soil of Massachusetts not a single year passed by in which they did not bring the civil power to bear upon a strange succession of persons obnoxious for a religious tenet. Perhaps, however, so noble a principle as that of unlimited religious freedom is the offspring of too long a period, the growth of too enlarged a culture, to have reached its maturity in centuries of time, or even amid a company of persecuted exiles constituting a church of devout Christian believers. Religious bigotry, of all human infirmities, is the least willing to look upon its own likeness in the glass, and much more to study the reflection of its features, so that, when it turns away, it may not forget the lesson. Mrs. Hutchinson was not the first person to propose to the Bay colony a lesson which took its life from the principle of religious freedom. She and her companions found a place of refuge, in their banishment, through the friendly agency of Roger Williams, who had just before proclaimed a doctrine in Massachusetts which would have silenced the Antinomian controversy, or at least have left the name of Mrs. Hutchinson to natural oblivion.

He, however, who should decide that there was nothing to explain, and even in a degree to palliate, the measures taken by Massachusetts against the succession of persons who poured contempt upon her religious bigotry, must have read her history without candor. The explanation of her course is to be found in the spirit of the age, the same over Christendom: a degree

\* Mr. Dudley died with a copy of verses in his pocket wrote with his own hand. The following two lines made part of it:

Let men of God, in court and churches, watch  
O'er such as do a toleration hatch.

This was the prevailing doctrine many years, and until their eyes were opened by a fresh persecution coming upon themselves from King James. This made his declaration for a general liberty of conscience welcome, and they thanked the King for allowing to them what they before thought themselves bound in conscience to deny to others.

of palliation for her measures is insured by a peculiar delusion, which was honestly and painfully entertained by the colonists, and by their position. An intimate acquaintance with the facts connected with their harsh proceedings against Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, the Baptists, and the early Friends, will at least give to the persecutors the benefit of this plea, that the same error and weakness which led them into intolerance kept them also in continual disquiet, called up before them a series of trying vexations, and visited them with plagues of their own creation. Mrs. Hutchinson and the other sufferers felt the blows, which were inflicted by persons possessed of an evil spirit, and who were first convulsed and crazed by its inward workings before they found a measure of relief by striking at outward objects. The spirit of persecution vexed its subjects as much as its objects, the persecutors as much as the persecuted.—*George E. Ellis.*

The eldest son of William and Anne Hutchinson was Edward Hutchinson, who was born in England before the family's removal to Massachusetts, and was killed by the Indians at Brookfield, Mass., in 1675, in King Philip's War. Thomas Hutchinson, the royal governor of Massachusetts, the author of the *History of Massachusetts Bay*, from the first volume of which the account of Anne Hutchinson's career given in the present leaflet is taken, was a great-grandson of this Captain Edward Hutchinson, a direct descendant therefore of Anne Hutchinson, of whom he writes. His *History*, the first volume of which was published in 1764, is a work of great value. His biography has been written by James K. Hosmer. The selection from his *History* given in the leaflet is sufficiently full to show the general situation in Massachusetts at the time of the controversy concerning Mrs. Hutchinson and her banishment from the colony. It should be compared with other accounts, as everything in the history of the controversy which raged about this gifted woman was the subject of sharp differences of opinion.

The leading facts in Mrs. Hutchinson's life are given by Hutchinson in the passage here printed. There is a *Life of Mrs. Hutchinson* by George E. Ellis (*Sparks*, vol. 16). See also Dr. Ellis's chapter on "The Puritan Commonwealth," in the *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. i. pp. 173-176; the note on p. 176 gives references to the original authorities—chiefly Winthrop's *New England* and what is known as "A Short Story," etc. (1644), the American edition of which had a preface by Rev. Thomas Weld, of Roxbury. Contemporary documents are given in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*. Palfrey's account of the controversy, in his *History of New England* (vol. i. 472), is one of the most important modern surveys. Much more interesting is the paper on the Antinomian Controversy, in Charles Francis Adams's "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History." In the appendix to the first volume of his *History* Hutchinson preserves a very complete account of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial. See also the account of the same in P. W. Chandler's "American Criminal Trials," vol. i.

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## Old South Lectures.

No. 179.

# James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock.

JOHN ADAMS'S TRIBUTES TO THESE AS THE THREE PRINCIPAL  
MOVERS AND AGENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

TO WILLIAM TUDOR.

QUINCY, 29 March, 1817.

Is your daughter, Mrs. Stuart, who I am credibly informed is one of the most accomplished of ladies, a painter? Are you acquainted with Miss Lydia Smith, who, I am also credibly informed, is one of the most accomplished ladies, and a painter? Do you know Mr. Sargent? Do you correspond with your old companion in arms, Colonel John Trumbull? Do you think Fisher will be an historical painter?

Whenever you shall find a painter, male or female, I pray you to suggest a scene and a subject for the pencil.

The scene is the Council Chamber in the old Town House in Boston. The date is in the month of February, 1761, nine years before you entered my office in Cole Lane. As this was five years before you entered college, you must have been in the second form of master Lovell's school.

That council chamber was as respectable an apartment as the House of Commons or the House of Lords in Great Britain, in proportion, or that in the State House in Philadelphia, in which the declaration of independence was signed, in 1776. In this chamber, round a great fire, were seated five Judges, with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson at their head, as Chief Justice, all arrayed in their new, fresh, rich robes of scarlet English

broadcloth; in their large cambric bands, and immense judicial wigs. In this chamber were seated at a long table all the barristers at law of Boston, and of the neighboring county of Middlesex, in gowns, bands, and tie wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs, but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate, when the Gauls broke in upon them.

In a corner of the room must be placed as a spectator and an auditor, wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning, and immense reading, hanging by the shoulders on two crutches, covered with a great cloth coat, in the person of Mr. Pratt, who had been solicited on both sides, but would engage on neither, being, as Chief Justice of New York, about to leave Boston forever. Two portraits, at more than full length, of King Charles the Second and of King James the Second, in splendid golden frames, were hung up on the most conspicuous sides of the apartment. If my young eyes or old memory have not deceived me, these were as fine pictures as I ever saw; the colors of the royal ermines and long flowing robes were the most glowing, the figures the most noble and graceful, the features the most distinct and characteristic, far superior to those of the King and Queen of France in the Senate chamber of Congress—these were worthy of the pencils of Rubens and Vandyke. There was no painter in England capable of them at that time. They had been sent over without frames in Governor Pownall's time, but he was no admirer of Charles or James. The pictures were stowed away in a garret, among rubbish, till Governor Bernard came, who had them cleaned, superbly framed, and placed in council for the admiration and imitation of all men—no doubt with the advice and concurrence of Hutchinson and all his nebula of stars and satellites.

One circumstance more. Samuel Quincy and John Adams had been admitted barristers at that term. John was the youngest. He should be painted looking like a short thick archbishop of Canterbury, seated at the table with a pen in his hand, lost in admiration, now and then minuting those poor notes which your pupil, Judge Minot, has printed in his history,\* with some interpolations. I will copy them from the book, and then point out those interpolations.†

\* Vol. ii pp. 89-99.

† The extract is omitted. The speech is printed, with the omission of the interpolations, in vol. ii. of the works of John Adams, Appendix, p. 523. It was not in the letter as first published

You have now the stage and the scenery. Next follows a narration of the subject. I rather think that we lawyers ought to call it a brief of the cause.

When the British ministry received from General Amherst his despatches, announcing the conquest of Montreal, and the consequent annihilation of the French government in America, in 1759, they immediately conceived the design, and took the resolution, of conquering the English colonies, and subjecting them to the unlimited authority of Parliament. With this view and intention they sent orders and instructions to the collector of the customs in Boston, Mr. Charles Paxton, to apply to the civil authority for writs of assistance, to enable the custom-house officers, tide-waiters, land-waiters, and all, to command all sheriffs and constables, &c., to attend and aid them in breaking open houses, stores, shops, cellars, ships, bales, trunks, chests, casks, packages of all sorts, to search for goods, wares, and merchandise, which had been imported against the prohibitions or without paying the taxes imposed by certain acts of Parliament, called the acts of trade; that is, by certain parliamentary statutes, which had been procured to be passed from time to time for a century before, by a combination of selfish intrigues between West India planters and North American royal governors. These acts never had been executed as revenue laws, and there never had been a time, when they would have been or could have been obeyed as such.

Mr. Paxton, no doubt consulting with Governor Bernard, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, and all the principal crown officers, thought it not prudent to commence his operations in Boston. For obvious reasons, he instructed his deputy collector in Salem, Mr. Cockle, to apply by petition to the Superior Court, in November, 1760, then sitting in that town, for writs of assistance. Stephen Sewall was then Chief Justice of that Court, an able man, an uncorrupted American, and a sincere friend of liberty, civil and religious. He expressed great doubts of the legality of such a writ, and of the authority of the Court to grant it. Not one of his brother judges uttered a word in favor of it; but as it was an application on the part of the crown, it must be heard and determined. After consultation, the Court ordered the question to be argued at the next February term in Boston, namely in 1761.

In the mean time Chief Justice Sewall died, and Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was appointed Chief Justice of that Court



in his stead. Every observing and thinking man knew that this appointment was made for the direct purpose of deciding this question in favor of the crown, and all others in which it should be interested. An alarm was spread far and wide. Merchants of Salem and Boston applied to Mr. Pratt, who refused, and to Mr. Otis and Mr. Thacher, who accepted, to defend them against the terrible menacing monster, the writ of assistance. Great fees were offered, but Otis, and, I believe, Thacher, would accept of none. "In such a cause," said Otis, "I despise all fees."

I have given you a sketch of the stage, and the scenery, and the brief of the cause, or, if you like the phrase better, the tragedy, comedy, or farce.

Now for the actors and performers. Mr. Gridley argued with his characteristic learning, ingenuity, and dignity, and said everything that could be said in favor of Cockle's petition; all depending, however, on the "if the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of all the British empire." Mr. Thacher followed him on the other side, and argued with the softness of manners, the ingenuity and cool reasoning, which were remarkable in his amiable character.

But Otis was a flame of fire!—with a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away every thing before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown, to defend the vigorous youth, the *non sine Diis animosus infans*. Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, namely in 1776, he grew up to manhood, and declared himself free.

The Court adjourned for consideration, and after some days, at the close of the term, Hutchinson, the Chief Justice, arose and said, "The Court has considered the subject of writs of assistance, and can see no foundation for such a writ; but, as the practice in England is not known, it has been thought best to continue the question until next term, that in the mean time opportunity may be given to write to England for information concerning the subject." In six months the next term arrived,

but no judgment was pronounced, no letters from England were produced, and nothing more was ever said in Court concerning writs of assistance; but it was generally reported and understood that the Court clandestinely granted them, and the custom-house officers had them in their pockets, though I never knew that they dared to produce them or execute them in any one instance.

Mr. Otis's popularity was without bounds. In May, 1761, he was elected into the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote. On the week of his election, I happened to be at Worcester, attending the Court of Common Pleas, of which Brigadier Ruggles was Chief Justice, when the news arrived from Boston of Mr. Otis's election. You can have no idea of the consternation among the government people. Chief Justice Ruggles, at dinner ~~at~~ Colonel Chandler's on that day, said, "Out of this election will arise a d—d faction, which will shake this province to its foundation." Ruggles's foresight reached not beyond his nose. That election has shaken two continents, and will shake all four. For ten years Mr. Otis, at the head of his country's cause, conducted the town of Boston, and the people of the province, with a prudence and fortitude, at every sacrifice of personal interest, and amidst unceasing persecution, which would have done honor to the most virtuous patriot or martyr of antiquity. •

The minutes of Mr. Otis's argument are no better a representation of it than the gleam of a glow-worm to the meridian blaze of the sun. I fear I shall make you repent bringing out the old gentleman. *Ridendo dicere verum quid vetat?*

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TO WILLIAM TUDOR.

QUINCY, 15 April, 1817.

I have received your obliging favor of the 8th, but cannot consent to your resolution to ask no more questions. Your questions revive my sluggish memory. Since our national legislature have established a national painter,—a wise measure, for which I thank them,—my imagination runs upon the art, and has already painted, I know not how many, historical pictures. I have sent you one; give me leave to send another. The bloody

rencontre between the citizens and the soldiers, on the 5th of March, 1770, produced a tremendous sensation throughout the town and country. The people assembled first at Faneuil Hall, and adjourned to the Old South Church, to the number, as was conjectured, of ten or twelve thousand men, among whom were the most virtuous, substantial, independent, disinterested, and intelligent citizens. They formed themselves into a regular deliberative body, chose their moderator and secretary, entered into discussions, deliberations, and debates, adopted resolutions, appointed committees. What has become of these records, Mr. Tudor? Where are they? Their resolutions in public were conformable to those of every man in private, who dared to express his thoughts or his feelings, "that the regular soldiers should be banished from the town at all hazards." Jonathan Williams, a very pious, inoffensive, and conscientious gentleman, was their Moderator. A remonstrance to the Governor, or the Governor and Council, was ordained, and a demand that the regular troops should be removed from the town. A committee was appointed to present this remonstrance, of which Samuel Adams was the chairman.

Now for the picture. The theatre and the scenery are the same with those at the discussion of writs of assistance. The same glorious portraits of King Charles II. and King James II., to which might be added, and should be added, little miserable likenesses of Governor Winthrop, Governor Bradstreet, Governor Endicott, and Governor Belcher, hung up in obscure corners of the room. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, commander-in-chief in the absence of the Governor, must be placed at the head of the council table. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's military forces, taking rank of all his Majesty's counsellors, must be seated by the side of the Lieutenant-Governor and commander-in-chief of the province. Eight-and-twenty counsellors must be painted, all seated at the council board. Let me see—what costume? What was the fashion of that day, in the month of March? Large white wigs, English scarlet cloth cloaks, some of them with gold-laced hats, not on their heads, indeed, in so august a presence, but on the table before them, or under the table beneath them. Before these illustrious personages appeared SAMUEL ADAMS, a member of the House of Representatives and their clerk, now at the head of the committee of the great assembly at the Old South Church. Thucydides, Livy, or Sallust would make a speech



for him, or, perhaps, the Italian Botta, if he had known any thing of this transaction,—one of the most important of the revolution,—but I am wholly incapable of it; and, if I had vanity enough to think myself capable of it, should not dare to attempt it. He represented the state of the town and the country; the dangerous, ruinous, and fatal effects of standing armies in populous cities in time of peace, and the determined resolution of the public, that the regular troops, at all events, should be removed from the town. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, then commander-in-chief, at the head of a trembling council, said, “he had no authority over the king’s troops; that they had their separate commander and separate orders and instructions, and that he could not interfere with them.” Mr. Adams instantly appealed to the charter of the province, by which the Governor, and in his absence the Lieutenant-Governor, was constituted commander-in-chief of all the military and naval power within its jurisdiction. So obviously true and so irrefragable was the reply, that it is astonishing that Mr. Hutchinson should have so grossly betrayed the Constitution, and so atrociously have violated the duties of his office by asserting the contrary. But either the fears or the ambition of this gentleman, upon this and many other occasions, especially in his controversy with the two houses, three years afterwards, on the supremacy of Parliament, appear to have totally disarranged his understanding. He certainly asserted in public, in the most solemn manner, a multitude of the roundest falsehoods, which he must have known to be such, and which he must have known could be easily and would certainly be detected, if he had not wholly lost his memory, even of his own public writings. You, Mr. Tudor, knew Mr. Adams from your childhood to his death. In his common appearance he was a plain, simple, decent citizen, of middling stature, dress, and manners. He had an exquisite ear for music, and a charming voice, when he pleased to exert it. Yet his ordinary speeches in town meetings, in the House of Representatives, and in Congress exhibited nothing extraordinary; but, upon great occasions, when his deeper feelings were excited, he erected himself, or rather nature seemed to erect him, without the smallest symptom of affectation, into an upright dignity of figure and gesture, and gave a harmony to his voice which made a strong impression on spectators and auditors,—the more lasting for the purity, correctness, and nervous elegance of his style.

This was a delicate and a dangerous crisis. The question in the last resort was, whether the town of Boston should become a scene of carnage and desolation, or not? Humanity to the soldiers conspired with a regard for the safety of the town, in suggesting the wise measure of calling the town together to deliberate. For nothing short of the most solemn promises to the people that the soldiers should, at all hazards, be driven from the town, had preserved its peace. Not only the immense assemblies of the people from day to day, but military arrangements from night to night, were necessary to keep the people and the soldiers from getting together by the ears. The life of a red coat would not have been safe in any street or corner of the town. Nor would the lives of the inhabitants have been much more secure. The whole militia of the city was in requisition, and military watches and guards were everywhere placed. We were all upon a level; no man was exempted; our military officers were our only superiors. I had the honor to be summoned, in my turn, and attended at the State House with my musket and bayonet, my broadsword and cartridge-box, under the command of the famous Paddock. I know you will laugh at my military figure; but I believe there was not a more obedient soldier in the regiment, nor one more impartial between the people and the regulars. In this character I was upon duty all night in my turn. No man appeared more anxious or more deeply impressed with a sense of danger on all sides than our commander, Paddock. He called me, common soldier as I was, frequently to his councils. I had a great deal of conversation with him, and no man appeared more apprehensive of a fatal calamity to the town or more zealous by every prudent measure to prevent it.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Samuel Adams was reasoning with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple. He had fairly driven them from all their outworks, breastworks, and entrenchments, to their citadel. There they paused and considered and deliberated. The heads of Hutchinson and Dalrymple were laid together in whispers for a long time; when the whispering ceased, a long and solemn pause ensued, extremely painful to an impatient, expecting audience. Hutchinson, in time, broke silence. He had consulted with Colonel Dalrymple, and the Colonel had authorized him to say, that he might order one regiment down to the castle, if that would satisfy the people. With a self-recollection, a

self-possession, a self-command, a presence of mind that was admired by every man present, Samuel Adams arose with an air of dignity and majesty, of which he was sometimes capable, stretched forth his arm, though even then quivering with palsy, and with an harmonious voice and decisive tone said, "If the Lieutenant-Governor or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two, and nothing short of the total evacuation of the town by all the regular troops will satisfy the public mind or preserve the peace of the province."

These few words thrilled through the veins of every man in the audience, and produced the great result. After a little awkward hesitation, it was agreed that the town should be evacuated, and both regiments sent to the castle.

After all this gravity, it is merry enough to relate that William Molineux was obliged to march side by side with the commander of some of these troops, to protect them from the indignation of the people, in their progress to the wharf of embarkation for the castle. Nor is it less amusing that Lord North, as I was repeatedly and credibly informed in England, with his characteristic mixture of good humor and sarcasm, ever after called these troops by the title of "Sam Adams's two regiments."

The painter should seize upon the critical moment, when Samuel Adams stretched out his arm, and made his last speech.

It will be as difficult to do justice as to paint an Apollo; and the transaction deserves to be painted as much as the surrender of Burgoyne. Whether any artist will ever attempt it, I know not.

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TO WILLIAM TUDOR.

QUINCY, June 1, 1817.

That Mr. Hutchinson repented as sincerely as Mr. Hamilton did, I doubt not. I hope the repentance of both has been accepted, and their faults pardoned. And I hope I have repented, do repent, and shall ever repent of mine, and meet them both in another world, where there will need no repentance. Such vicissitudes of fortune command compassion; I pity even Napoleon.

You "never profoundly admired Mr. Hancock. He had



vanity and caprice." I can say, with truth, that I profoundly admired him, and more profoundly loved him. If he had vanity and caprice, so had I. And if his vanity and caprice made me sometimes sputter, as you know they often did, mine, I well know, had often a similar effect upon him. But these little flickerings of little passions determine nothing concerning essential characters. I knew Mr. Hancock from his cradle to his grave. He was radically generous and benevolent. He was born in this town, half way between this house and our congregational temple, son of a clergyman of this parish, and grandson of a clergyman of Lexington, both of excellent characters. We were at the same school together, as soon as we were out of petticoats. His father died when he was very young. His uncle, the most opulent merchant in Boston, who had no children, adopted him, placed him in Mr. Lovell's school, educated him at Harvard college, and then took him into his store. And what a school was this! Four large ships constantly plying between Boston and London, and other business in proportion. This was in 1755. He became an example to all the young men of the town. Wholly devoted to business, he was as regular and punctual at his store as the sun in his course. His uncle sent him to London, from whence, after a residence of about a year, he returned to his store, with the same habits of business, unaltered in manners or deportment, and pursued his employments with the same punctuality and assiduity, till the death of his uncle, who left him his business, his credit, his capital, and his fortune; who did more—he left him the protector of his widow. This lady, though her husband left her a handsome independence, would have sunk into oblivion, like so many other most excellent widows, had not the public attention been fastened upon her by the fame of her nephew. Never was a nephew to an aunt more affectionate, dutiful, or respectful. No alteration appeared in Mr. Hancock, either from his travels in England, or from his accession to the fortune of his uncle. The same steady, regular, punctual, industrious, indefatigable man of business; and, to complete his character with the ladies, always genteelly dressed, according to the fashions of those days.

What shall I say of his fortune, his ships? His commerce was a great one. Your honored father told me, at that time, that not less than a thousand families were, every day in the year, dependent on Mr. Hancock for their daily bread. Consider his real estate in Boston, in the country, in Connecticut,

and the rest of New England. Had Mr. Hancock fallen asleep to this day, he would now awake one of the richest men. Had he persevered in business as a private merchant, he might have erected a house of Medicis. Providence, however, did not intend or permit, in this instance, such a calamity to mankind. Mr. Hancock was the delight of the eyes of the whole town. There can be no doubt that he might have had his choice, and he had his choice of a companion; and that choice was very natural, a granddaughter of the great patron and most revered friend of his father. Beauty, politeness, and every domestic virtue justified his predilection.

At the time of this prosperity, I was one day walking in the mall, and, accidentally, met Samuel Adams. In taking a few turns together, we came in full view of Mr. Hancock's house. Mr. Adams, pointing to the stone building, said, "This town has done a wise thing to-day." "What?" "They have made that young man's fortune their own." His prophecy was literally fulfilled; for no man's property was ever more entirely devoted to the public. The town had, that day, chosen Mr. Hancock into the legislature of the province. The quivering anxiety of the public, under the fearful looking for of the vengeance of king, ministry, and parliament, compelled him to a constant attendance in the House; his mind was soon engrossed by public cares, alarms, and terrors; his business was left to subalterns; his private affairs neglected, and continued to be so to the end of his life. If his fortune had not been very large, he must have died as poor as Mr. S. Adams or Mr. Gerry.

I am not writing the life of Mr. Hancock; his biography would fill as many volumes as Marshall's Washington, and be quite as instructive and entertaining. Though I never injured or justly offended him, and though I spent much of my time, and suffered unknown anxiety, in defending his property, reputation, and liberty from persecution, I cannot but reflect upon myself for not paying him more respect than I did in his lifetime. His life will, however, not ever be written. But if statues, obelisks, pyramids, or divine honors were ever merited by men, of cities or nations, James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, deserved these from the town of Boston and the United States. Such adulations, however, are monopolized by profligate libelers, by cringing flatterers, by unprincipled ambition, by sordid avarice, by griping usurers, by scheming speculators, by plun-

dering bankers, by blind enthusiasts, by superstitious bigots, by puppies and butterflies, and by everything but honor and virtue. Hence the universal slavery of the human species. Hence a commentary on the well known and most expressive figure of rhetoric, "It grieved the Almighty, at his heart, that he had made man." Nevertheless, this is a good world, and I thank the Almighty that he has made man.

Mr. Hancock had a delicate constitution. He was very infirm. A great part of his life was passed in acute pain. He inherited from his father, though one of the most amiable and beloved of men, a certain sensibility, a keenness of feeling, or, in more familiar language, a peevishness of temper, that sometimes disgusted and afflicted his friends. Yet it was astonishing with what patience, perseverance, and punctuality he attended to business to the last. Nor were his talents or attainments inconsiderable. They were far superior to many who have been much more celebrated. He had a great deal of political sagacity and penetration into men. He was by no means a contemptible scholar or orator. Compared with Washington, Lincoln, or Knox, he was learned. So much, for the present, of Mr. Hancock.

When, in the beginning of this letter, I agreed with you in your opinion of Mr. Hutchinson's repentance, I should have added, he had great reason for repentance. Fled, in his old age, from the detestation of a country, where he had been beloved, esteemed, and admired, and applauded with exaggeration—in short, where he had been everything, from his infancy—to a country where he was nothing; pinched by a pension, which, though ample in Boston, would barely keep a house in London; throwing round his baleful eyes on the exiled companions of his folly; hearing daily of the slaughter of his countrymen and conflagration of their cities; abhorred by the greatest men and soundest part of the nation, and neglected, if not despised, by the rest, hardened as had been my heart against him, I assure you I was melted at the accounts I heard of his condition. Lord Townsend told me that he put an end to his own life. Though I did not believe this, I know he was ridiculed by the courtiers. They laughed at his manners at the levee, at his perpetual quotations of his brother Foster, searching his pockets for letters to read to the king, and the king turning away from him with his head up, &c.

A few words concerning S. Adams in my next.



TO WILLIAM TUDOR.

QUINCY, 5 June, 1817.

You "never profoundly admired Mr. Hancock." I have suggested some hints in his favor. You "never profoundly admired Mr. Samuel Adams." I have promised you an apology for him. You may think it a weak one, for I have no talent at panegyric or apology. "There are all sorts of men in the world." This observation, you may say, is self-evident and futile; yet Mr. Locke thought it not unworthy of him to make it, and, if we reflect upon it, there is more meaning in it than meets the eye at the first blush.

You say, Mr. S. Adams "had too much sternness and pious bigotry." A man in his situation and circumstances must possess a large fund of sternness of stuff, or he will soon be annihilated. His piety ought not to be objected to him, or any other man. His bigotry, if he had any, was a fault; but he certainly had not more than Governor Hutchinson and Secretary Oliver, who, I know from personal conversation, were as stanch Trinitarians and Calvinists as he was, and treated all Arians and Arminians with more contempt and scorn than he ever did. Mr. Adams lived and conversed freely with all sectarians, in philosophy and divinity. He never imposed his creed on any one, or endeavored to make proselytes to his religious opinions. He was as far from sentencing any man to perdition, who differed from him, as Mr. Holley, Dr. Kirkland, or Dr. Freeman. If he was a Calvinist, a Calvinist he had been educated, and so had been all his ancestors for two hundred years. He had been, from his childhood, too much devoted to politics to be a profound student in metaphysics and theology, or to make extensive researches or deep investigations into such subjects. Nor had any other man attempted it, in this nation, in that age, if any one has attempted it since. Mr. Adams was an original—*sui generis, sui juris*. The variety of human characters is infinite. Nature seems to delight in showing the inexhaustibility of her resources. There never were two men alike, from the first man to the last, any more than two pebbles or two peas.

Mr. Adams was born and tempered a wedge of steel to split the knot of *lignum vitæ*, which tied North America to Great Britain. Blunderheaded as were the British ministry, they had sagacity enough to discriminate from all others, for inexorable

vengeance, the two men most to be dreaded by them, Samuel Adams and John Hancock; and had not James Otis been then dead, or worse than dead, his name would have been at the head of the TRIUMVIRATE.

James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock were the three most essential characters; and Great Britain knew it, though America does not. Great and important and excellent characters, aroused and excited by these, arose in Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, South Carolina, and in all the other States, but these three were the first movers, the most constant, steady, persevering springs, agents, and most disinterested sufferers and firmest pillars of the whole Revolution. I shall not attempt even to draw the outlines of the biography of Mr. Samuel Adams. Who can attempt it?

*"Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poëticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea"\* nec possum refellere. Quia non tempus, nec oculos, nec manus habeo.* But, if I had time, eyes, and fingers at my command, where should I find documents and memorials? Without the character of Samuel Adams, the true history of the American Revolution can never be written. For fifty years, his pen, his tongue, his activity, were constantly exerted for his country without fee or reward. During that time, he was an almost incessant writer. But where are his writings? Who can collect them? And, if collected, who will ever read them? The letters he wrote and received, where are they? I have seen him at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of letters into atoms that could never be reunited, and throw them out of the window, to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer, when he had no fire. In winter he threw whole handfuls into the fire. As we were on terms of perfect intimacy, I have joked him, perhaps rudely, upon his anxious caution. His answer was, "Whatever becomes of me, my friends shall never suffer by my negligence." This may be thought a less significant anecdote than another. Mr. Adams left the letters he had received and preserved in possession of his widow. This lady, as was natural, lent them to a confidential friend of her husband, Mr.

\* Livy finishes the sentence thus, *nec affirmare nec refellere, in animo est.* The addition in the text is by the writer.

Avery, who then was, and had been secretary of the commonwealth under the administration of Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock. Mr. Avery informed me, that he "had them, and that they were a complete history of the Revolution." I will not say into whose hands they fell, after Mr. Avery's death, and I cannot say where they are now; but I have heard that a gentleman in Charlestown, Mr. Austin, undertook to write the life of Mr. Adams; but, finding his papers had been so garbled that the truth could not be discovered, he abandoned his design. Never will those letters, which Secretary Avery possessed, be brought together again; nor will they ever be found. So much for Mr. Adams, at present. Now for Mr. Otis.

I write no biographies or biographical sketches; I give only hints. James Otis was descended from our most ancient families. His education was the best his country afforded. He was bred to the bar under Mr. Gridley, the greatest lawyer and the greatest classic scholar I ever knew at any bar. His application was incessant and indefatigable. Justice Richard Dana has often told me, that the apartment in which Otis studied, when a pupil and a clerk of Mr. Gridley, was near his house; that he had watched him from day to day, and that he had never known a student in law so punctual, so steady, so constant and persevering. Accordingly, as soon as he was admitted to the bar, he became a conspicuous figure. And among whom? Gridley, Pratt, Trowbridge; and he was much admired, and as much celebrated as any of them. His generous, manly, noble character, as a private gentleman, his uncommon attainments in literature, especially in the law, and his nervous, commanding eloquence at the bar, were everywhere spoken of. The government soon discerned his superiority, and commissioned him Advocate-General. He married a lady, who, in that day, was esteemed a fortune. From 1755 to 1758, I heard my master, Colonel James Putnam, of Worcester, who was a critical judge, and Mr. Trowbridge, the then Attorney-General, and his lady, constantly speaking of Otis as the greatest, the most learned, the most manly, and most honest young man of his age. All this was before I had ever seen Mr. Otis. I never saw him till late in the autumn of 1758, nor Mr. Samuel Adams till after that year.

To sum up in a few words, the two young men, whom I have known to enter the stage of life with the most luminous, unclouded prospects, and the best founded hopes, were James Otis and John Hancock. They were both essential to the Rev-



olution, and both fell sacrifices to it. Mr. Otis, from 1760 to 1770, had correspondences in this province, in New England, in the middle and southern colonies, in England, and in Scotland. What has become of these letters and answers?

Mr. Otis, soon after my earliest acquaintance with him, lent me a summary of Greek Prosody of his own collection and composition, a work of profound learning and great labor. I had it six months in my possession, before I returned it. Since my return from Europe, I asked his daughter whether she had found that work among her father's manuscripts. She answered me with a countenance of woe that you may more easily imagine than I can describe, that she "had not a line from her father's pen; that he had spent much time, and taken great pains, to collect together all his letters and other papers, and, in one of his unhappy moments, committed them all to the flames." I have used her own expressions.

Such has been the fate of the memorials of Mr. James Otis and Mr. Samuel Adams. It was not without reason, then, that I wrote to Mr. Niles, of Baltimore, that the true history of the American Revolution is lost forever. I could write volumes of other proofs of the same truth, before, during, and since the Revolution. But *cui bono*? They would be read by very few, and by very few of those few would be credited, and, by this minimum of a few, would be imputed to the vanity, egotism, ill humor, envy, jealousy, and disappointed ambition of your sincere friend, John Adams; for the character of this nation is strangely altered.

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TO WILLIAM WIRT.

QUINCY, 5 January, 1818.

Your sketches of the life of Mr. Henry have given me a rich entertainment. I will not compare them to the Sybil conducting Æneas to see the ghosts of departed sages and heroes in the region below, but to an angel conveying me to the abodes of the blessed on high, to converse with the spirits of just men made perfect. The names of Henry, Lee, Bland, Pendleton, Washington, Rutledge, Dickinson, Wythe, and many others, will ever thrill through my veins with an agreeable sensation. I am not about to make any critical remarks upon your work, at present. But, Sir,

Erant heroes ante Agamemnona multi.

Or, not to garble Horace,

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles  
Urgentur, ignotique longâ  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

If I could go back to the age of thirty-five, Mr. Wirt, I would endeavor to become your rival; not in elegance of composition, but in a simple narration of facts, supported by records, histories, and testimonies, of irrefragable authority. I would adopt, in all its modesty, your title, "Sketches of the Life and Writings of James Otis, of Boston," and, in imitation of your example, I would introduce portraits of a long catalogue of illustrious men, who were agents in the Revolution, in favor of it or against it.

Jeremiah Gridley, the father of the Bar in Boston, and the preceptor of Pratt, Otis, Thacher, Cushing, and many others; Benjamin Pratt, Chief Justice of New York; Colonel John Tyng, James Otis, of Boston, the hero of the biography; Oxenbridge Thacher, Jonathan Sewall, Attorney-General and Judge of Admiralty; Samuel Quincy, Solicitor-General; Daniel Leonard, now Chief Justice of Bermuda; Josiah Quincy, the Boston Cicero; Richard Dana, and Francis Dana, his son, first minister to Russia, and afterwards Chief Justice; Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Samuel Cooper, D.D., Charles Chauncy, D.D., James Warren and his wife; Joseph Warren, of Bunker's Hill; John Winthrop, Professor at Harvard College, and a member of Council; Samuel Dexter, the father; John Worthington, of Springfield; Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, and James Lovell, of Boston; Governors Shirley, Pownall, Bernard, Hutchinson, Hancock, Bowdoin, Adams, Sullivan, and Gerry; Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, Chief Justice Oliver, Judge Edmund Trowbridge, Judge William Cushing, and Timothy Ruggles, ought not to be omitted. The military characters, Ward, Lincoln, Warren, Knox, Brooks, Heath, &c., must come in, of course. Nor should Benjamin Kent, Samuel Swift, or John Read, be forgotten.

I envy none of the well-merited glories of Virginia, or any of her sages or heroes. But, Sir, I am jealous, very jealous, of the honor of Massachusetts.

The resistance to the British system for subjugating the colonies, began in 1760, and in the month of February, 1761, James Otis electrified the town of Boston, the province of Massachu-

setts Bay, and the whole continent, more than Patrick Henry ever did in the whole course of his life. If we must have panegyric and hyperbole, I must say, that if Mr. Henry was Demosthenes and Mr. Richard Henry Lee, Cicero, James Otis was Isaiah and Ezekiel united.

I hope, Sir, that some young gentleman of the ancient and honorable family of the "Searches," will hereafter do impartial justice both to Virginia and Massachusetts.

After all this freedom, I assure you, Sir, it is no flattery, when I congratulate the nation on the acquisition of an Attorney-General of such talents and industry as your "Sketches" demonstrate.

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TO WILLIAM WIRT.

QUINCY, 7 March, 1818.

Be pleased to accept my cordial thanks for the present of an elegant copy of your Sketches of Mr. Henry. I know not whether I shall ever have time to make you any other return than thanks; but, as I see you wish to investigate the sources of the American Revolution, if you will give me leave, I will give you such hints as my memory affords, to assist you.

In 1764 was published, in Boston, a pretty little pamphlet, "The Sentiments of a British American," the motto of which ought to have warned Great Britain to desist from her tyrannical system of taxation.

Asellum in prato timidus pascebat senex.  
 Is, hostium clamore subito territus,  
 Suadebat asino fugere, ne possent capi.  
 At ille lentus: quæso, num binas mihi  
 Clitellas impositurum victorem putas?  
 Senex negavit. Ergo quid refert mea  
 Cui serviam? clitellas dum portem meas.

*Phædrus.*

Considering "An Act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America," of the 4 G. III., he says: "The first objection is, that a tax is laid on several commodities, to be raised and levied in the plantations, and to be remitted home to England. This is esteemed as a grievance, inasmuch as they are laid without the consent of the representatives of the colonists. It is esteemed an essential British right, that



no person shall be subject to any tax, but what, in person or by his representative, he has a voice in laying."

I am indebted to you, Sir, for the reperusal of this pretty little thing. I had never seen it for fifty-four years, and should never have seen it again; but your book has excited me, having no copy of it, to borrow it as a great favor for a short time. It was written by Oxenbridge Thacher, a barrister at law in Boston. There is so much resemblance between this pamphlet and Mr. Jay's address to the people of England, written ten years afterwards, that, as Johnson said of his *Rasselas* and Voltaire's *Candide*, one might be suspected to have given birth to the other.

In 1764 was published, in Boston, "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved," by James Otis, Esq. This work was read in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in manuscript, in 1764, and, though not ordered by them to be published, it was printed with their knowledge. In it these propositions are asserted as fundamental.

"1. That the supreme and subordinate powers of legislation should be free and sacred in the hands where the community have once rightfully placed them.

2. The supreme, national legislative cannot be altered justly till the commonwealth is dissolved, nor a subordinate legislative taken away without forfeiture or other good cause. Nor then can the subjects in the subordinate government be reduced to a state of slavery, and subject to the despotic rule of others.

3. No legislative, supreme or subordinate, has a right to make itself arbitrary.

4. The supreme legislative cannot justly assume a power of ruling by *ex tempore* arbitrary decrees, but is bound to dispense justice by known, settled rules, and by duly authorized, independent judges.

5. THE SUPREME POWER *cannot take from any man any part of his property*, WITHOUT HIS CONSENT IN PERSON, OR BY REPRESENTATION.

6. The legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands. . . ."

In an appendix to this work is a copy of instructions, given by the city of Boston at their annual meeting, in May, 1764, to their representatives, Royal Tyler, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, and Oxenbridge Thacher, Esqrs. These instructions were drawn by Samuel Adams, who was one of those appointed by

the town for that purpose. These instructions are a sample of that simplicity, purity, and harmony of style, which distinguished all the productions of Mr. Adams's pen. I wish I could transcribe the whole; but the paragraph most directly to the present purpose is the following:—"But what still heightens our apprehensions is, that these unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to new taxations upon us. For, if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and every thing we possess or make use of? This, we apprehend, annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects, who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" This whole work was published more than a year before Mr. Henry's resolutions were moved.

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John Adams, in passages in the foregoing letters, laments that important papers which had been prepared by Samuel Adams and James Otis were destroyed, and that with them "the true history of the American Revolution is lost forever." This word is perhaps too strong, but certain it is that nothing brings us into such close touch with the Revolution as the words of the actors in it. Among all the actors in those stirring scenes, none was a more graphic writer than John Adams himself; and we have in his large correspondence and other papers pictures of the Revolution and the stirring time before it which have a vividness and a historical value not surpassed by any similar writings relating to the period. A few of his letters to William Tudor and William Wirt are given in the present leaflet, as samples of a score of such relating to the men and events in Massachusetts in the decade before 1775, which may be found in vol. x of his collected works. An interesting letter on Hutchinson, the royal governor, is that to William Tudor, Nov. 16, 1816. Many letters relate to Otis and his speech against the writs of assistance, one of the most impressive being that to Dr. J. Morse, Nov. 29, 1815. "A history of military operations from 1775 to 1783," he says here, "is not a history of the American Revolution. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people, and in the union of the colonies, both of which were substantially effected before hostilities commenced." Under date of June 1, 1818, he begins a series of letters to William Tudor, giving an analysis of Otis's argument in his famous speech.

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THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,  
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



# Garrison's First Anti-slavery Address in Boston.

ADDRESS AT PARK STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, JULY 4, 1829.

It is natural that the return of a day which established the liberties of a brave people should be hailed by them with more than ordinary joy; and it is their duty as Christians and patriots to celebrate it with signal tokens of thanksgiving.

Fifty-three years ago the Fourth of July was a proud day for our country. It clearly and accurately defined the rights of man; it made no vulgar alterations in the established usages of society; it presented a revelation adapted to the common sense of mankind; it vindicated the omnipotence of public opinion over the machinery of kingly government; it shook, as with the voice of a great earthquake, thrones which were seemingly propped up with Atlantean pillars; it gave an impulse to the heart of the world, which yet thrills to its extremities.

[The orator then proceeded to speak of the degeneracy of the national jubilee, from an occasion distinguished for rationality of feeling and purity of purpose to a day marked by reckless and profligate behavior, vain boasting, and the foolish assumption that no dangers could ever assail or threaten the republic. To him the prevalence of infidelity, the compulsory desecration of the "holy Sabbath," the ravages of intemperance, the profligacy of the press, the corruptness of party politics, were all sources of danger and causes for alarm; and he briefly considered them before he took up slavery, the main theme of his discourse.]

I speak not as a partisan or an opponent of any man or measures, when I say that our politics are rotten to the core. *We* boast of



our freedom, who go shackled to the polls, year after year, by tens and hundreds and thousands! *We* talk of free agency, who are the veriest machines—the merest automata—in the hands of unprincipled jugglers! *We* prate of integrity, and virtue, and independence, who sell our birthright for office, and who, nine times in ten, do not get Esau's bargain,—no, not even a mess of pottage! Is it republicanism to say that the majority can do no wrong? Then I am not a republican. Is it aristocracy to say that the people sometimes shamefully abuse their high trust? Then I am an aristocrat. It is not the appreciation, but the abuse of liberty, to withdraw altogether from the polls, or to visit them merely as a matter of form, without carefully investigating the merits of candidates. The republic does not bear a charmed life: our prescriptions administered through the medium of the ballot-box—the mouth of the political body—may kill or cure, according to the nature of the disease and our wisdom in applying the remedy. It is possible that a people may bear the title of free-men who execute the work of slaves. To the dullest observers of the signs of the times it must be apparent that we are rapidly approximating to this condition. . . .

But there is another evil, which, if we had to contend against nothing else, should make us quake for the issue. It is a gangrene preying upon our vitals, an earthquake rumbling under our feet, a mine accumulating materials for a national catastrophe. It should make this a day of fasting and prayer, not of boisterous merriment and idle pageantry, a day of great lamentation, not of congratulatory joy. It should spike every cannon, and haul down every banner. Our garb should be sackcloth, our heads bowed in the dust, our supplications for the pardon and assistance of Heaven.

Last week this city was made breathless by a trial of considerable magnitude. The court chamber was inundated for hours, day after day, with a dense and living tide which swept along like the rush of a mountain torrent. Tiers of human bodies were piled up to the walls, with almost miraculous condensation and ingenuity. It seemed as if men abhorred a vacuum equally with Nature: they would suspend themselves, as it were, by a nail, and stand upon air with the aid of a peg. Although it was a barren, ineloquent subject, and the crowd immense, there was no perceptible want of interest, no evidence of impatience. The cause was important, involving the reputation of a distinguished citizen. There was a struggle for mastery between two giants,

a test of strength in tossing mountains of law. The excitement was natural. \*

I stand up here in a more solemn court, to assist in a far greater cause; not to impeach the character of one man, but of a whole people; not to recover the sum of a hundred thousand dollars, but to obtain the liberation of two millions of wretched, degraded beings, who are pining in hopeless bondage, over whose sufferings scarcely an eye weeps, or a heart melts, or a tongue pleads either to God or man. I regret that a better advocate had not been found, to enchain your attention and to warm your blood. Whatever fallacy, however, may appear in the argument, there is no flaw in the indictment; what the speaker lacks, the cause will supply.

Sirs, I am not come to tell you that slavery is a curse, debasing in its effect, cruel in its operation, fatal in its continuance. The day and the occasion require no such revelation. I do not claim the discovery as my own, that "all men are born equal," and that among their inalienable rights are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Were I addressing any other than a free and Christian assembly, the enforcement of this truth might be pertinent. Neither do I intend to analyze the horrors of slavery for your inspection, nor to freeze your blood with authentic recitals of savage cruelty. Nor will time allow me to explore even a furlong of that immense wilderness of suffering which remains unsubdued in our land. I take it for granted that the existence of these evils is acknowledged, if not rightly understood. My object is to define and enforce our duty, as Christians and Philanthropists.

On a subject so exhaustless it will be impossible, in the moiety of an address, to unfold all the facts which are necessary to its full development. In view of it my heart swells up like a living fountain, which time cannot exhaust, for it is perpetual. Let this be considered as the preface of a noble work, which your inventive sympathies must elaborate and complete.

I assume as distinct and defensible propositions:—

I. That the slaves of this country, whether we consider their moral, intellectual, or social condition, are pre-eminently entitled to the prayers and sympathies and charities of the American people; and their claims for redress are as strong as those of any Americans could be in a similar condition.

II. That, as the free States—by which I mean non-slavehold-

\* The case was that of Farnum, Executor of Tuttle Hubbard, vs. Brooks, and was heard in the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The "two giants" in opposition were William Wirt, ex-Attorney-General of the United States, and Daniel Webster. Wirt's eloquence made a great impression. (*Boston Traveller*, June 23, 30, 1829; *Columbian Centinel*, June 27.)

ing States—are constitutionally involved in the guilt of slavery by adhering to a national compact that sanctions it, and in the danger by liability to be called upon for aid in case of insurrection, they have the right to remonstrate against its continuance, and it is their duty to assist in its overthrow.

III. That no justificative plea for the perpetuity of slavery can be found in the condition of its victims; and no barrier against our righteous interference, in the laws which authorize the buying, selling, and possessing of slaves, nor in the hazard of a collision with slaveholders.

IV. That education and freedom will elevate our colored population to a rank with the white, making them useful, intelligent, and peaceable citizens.

In the first place, it will be readily admitted that it is the duty of every nation primarily to administer relief to its own necessities, to cure its own maladies, to instruct its own children, and to watch over its own interests. He is “worse than an infidel” who neglects his own household, and squanders his earnings upon strangers; and the policy of that nation is unwise which seeks to proselyte other portions of the globe at the expense of its safety and happiness. Let me not be misunderstood. My benevolence is neither contracted nor selfish. I pity that man whose heart is not larger than a whole continent. I despise the littleness of that patriotism which blusters only for its own rights, and, stretched to its utmost dimensions, scarcely covers its native territory; which adopts as its creed the right to act independently, even to the verge of licentiousness, without restraint, and to tyrannize wherever it can with impunity. This sort of patriotism is common. I suspect the reality, and deny the productiveness, of that piety which confines its operations to a particular spot—if that spot be less than the whole earth; nor scoops out, in every direction, new channels for the waters of life. Christian charity, while it “begins at home,” goes abroad in search of misery. It is as copious as the sun in heaven. It does not, like the Nile, make a partial inundation, and then withdraw; but it perpetually overflows, and fertilizes every barren spot. It is restricted only by the exact number of God’s suffering creatures. But I mean to say that, while we are aiding and instructing foreigners, we ought not to forget our own degraded countrymen; that neither duty nor honesty requires us to defraud ourselves, that we may enrich others.

The condition of the slaves, in a religious point of view, is deplorable, entitling them to a higher consideration, on our part,



than any other race; higher than the Turks or Chinese, for they have the privileges of instruction; higher than the Pagans, for they are not dwellers in a gospel land; higher than our red men of the forest, for we do not bind them with gyves nor treat them as chattels.

And here let me ask, What has Christianity done, by direct effort, for our slave population? Comparatively nothing. She has explored the isles of the ocean for objects of commiseration; but, amazing stupidity, she can gaze without emotion on a multitude of miserable beings at home, large enough to constitute a nation of freemen, whom tyranny has heathenized by law. In her public services they are seldom remembered, and in her private donations they are forgotten. From one end of the country to the other her charitable societies form golden links of benevolence, and scatter their contributions like raindrops over a parched heath; but they bring no sustenance to the perishing slave. The blood of souls is upon her garments, yet she heeds not the stain. The clankings of the prisoner's chains strike upon her ear, but they cannot penetrate her heart.

I have said that the claims of the slaves for redress are as strong as those of any Americans could be, in a similar condition. Does any man deny the position? The proof, then, is found in the fact that a very large proportion of our colored population were born on our soil, and are therefore entitled to all the privileges of American citizens. This is their country by birth, not by adoption. Their children possess the same inherent and unalienable rights as ours, and it is a crime of the blackest dye to load them with fetters.

Every Fourth of July our Declaration of Independence is produced, with a sublime indignation, to set forth the tyranny of the mother country and to challenge the admiration of the world. But what a pitiful detail of grievances does this document present in comparison with the wrongs which our slaves endure! In the one case, it is hardly the plucking of a hair from the head; in the other, it is the crushing of a live body on the wheel,—the stings of the wasp contrasted with the tortures of the Inquisition. Before God, I must say that such a glaring contradiction as exists between our creed and practice the annals of six thousand years cannot parallel. In view of it I am ashamed of my country. I am sick of our unmeaning declamation in praise of liberty and equality, of our hypocritical cant about the unalienable rights of man. I could not, for my right hand, stand up before a Euro-

pean assembly, and exult that I am an American citizen, and denounce the usurpations of a kingly government as wicked and unjust; or, should I make the attempt, the recollection of my country's barbarity and despotism would blister my lips, and cover my cheeks with burning blushes of shame.

Will this be termed a rhetorical flourish? Will any man coldly accuse me of intemperate zeal? I will borrow, then, a ray of humanity from one of the brightest stars in our American galaxy, whose light will gather new effulgence to the end of time. "This, sirs, is a cause that would be dishonored and betrayed if I contented myself with appealing only to the understanding. It is too cold, and its processes are too slow for the occasion. I desire to thank God that, since he has given me an intellect so fallible, he has impressed upon me an instinct that is sure. On a question of shame and honor—liberty and oppression—reasoning is sometimes useless, and worse. I feel the decision in my pulse: if it throws no light upon the brain, it kindles a fire at the heart." . . .

I come to my second proposition,—the right of the free States to remonstrate against the continuance, and to assist in the overthrow of slavery.

This, I am aware, is a delicate subject, surrounded with many formidable difficulties. But if delay only adds to its intricacy, wherefore shun an immediate investigation? I know that we of the North affectedly believe that we have no local interest in the removal of this great evil; that the slave States can take care of themselves, and that any proffered assistance, on our part, would be rejected as impertinent, dictatorial, or meddlesome; and that we have no right to lift up even a note of remonstrance. But I believe that these opinions are crude, preposterous, dishonorable, unjust. Sirs, this is a business in which, as members of one great family, we have a common interest; but we take no responsibility, either individually or collectively. Our hearts are cold, our blood stagnates in our veins. We act, in relation to the slaves, as if they were something lower than the brutes that perish.

On this question, I ask no support from the injunction of Holy Writ, which says, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." I throw aside the common dictates of humanity. I assert the right of the free States to demand a gradual abolition of slavery, because, by its continuance, they participate in the guilt thereof, and are threatened with ultimate destruction;

because they are bound to watch over the interests of the whole country without reference to territorial divisions; because their white population is nearly double that of the slave States, and the voice of this overwhelming majority should be potential; because they are now deprived of their just influence in the councils of the nation; because it is absurd and anti-republican to suffer property to be represented as men, and *vice versa*;\* because it gives the South an unjust ascendancy over other portions of territory, and a power which may be perverted on every occasion. . . .

Now I say that, on the broad system of equal rights, this monstrous inequality should no longer be tolerated. If it cannot be speedily put down—not by force, but by fair persuasion; if we are always to remain shackled by unjust Constitutional provisions, when the emergency that imposed them has long since passed away; if we must share in the guilt and danger of destroying the bodies and souls of men, *as the price of our Union*; if the slave States will haughtily spurn our assistance, and refuse to consult the general welfare,—then the fault is not ours if a separation eventually take place. . . .

It may be objected that the laws of the slave States form insurmountable barriers to any interference on our part.

Answer. I grant that we have not the right, and I trust not the disposition, to use coercive measures. But do these laws hinder our prayers, or obstruct the flow of our sympathies? Cannot our charities alleviate the condition of the slave, and perhaps break his fetters? Can we not operate upon public sentiment (the lever that can move the moral world) by way of remonstrance, advice, or entreaty? Is Christianity so powerful that she can tame the red men of our forests, and abolish the Burman caste, and overthrow the gods of Paganism, and liberate lands over which the darkness of Superstition has lain for ages, and yet so weak, in her own dwelling-place, that she can make no impression upon her civil code? Can she contend successfully with cannibals, and yet be conquered by her own children?

Suppose that, by a miracle, the slaves should suddenly become white. Would you shut your eyes upon their sufferings, and calmly talk of Constitutional limitations? No, your voice would peal in the ears of the taskmasters like deep thunder; you would carry the Constitution by force, if it could not be taken by treaty; patriotic assemblies would congregate at the corners of every

\*By the three-fifths representation clause of the Federal Constitution, Art. I., Sect. ii., 3.



street; the old Cradle of Liberty would rock to a deeper tone than ever echoed therein at British aggression; the pulpit would acquire new and unusual eloquence from our holy religion. The argument, that these white slaves are degraded, would not then obtain. You would say, It is enough that they are white and in bondage, and they ought immediately to be set free. You would multiply your schools of instruction and your temples of worship, and rely on them for security. . . .

But the plea is prevalent that any interference by the free States, however benevolent or cautious it might be, would only irritate and inflame the jealousies of the South, and retard the cause of emancipation. If any man believes that slavery can be abolished without a struggle with the worst passions of human nature, quietly, harmoniously, he cherishes a delusion. It can never be done unless the age of miracles return. No; we must expect a collision, full of sharp asperities and bitterness. We shall have to contend with the insolence and pride and selfishness of many a heartless being. But these can be easily conquered by meekness and perseverance and prayer.

Sirs, the prejudices of the North are stronger than those of the South; they bristle, like so many bayonets, around the slaves; they forge and rivet the chains of the nation. Conquer them, and the victory is won. The enemies of emancipation take courage from our criminal timidity. They have justly stigmatized us, even on the floor of Congress, with the most contemptuous epithets. We are (they say) their "white slaves,"† afraid of our own shadows, who have been driven back to the wall again and again; who stand trembling under their whips; who turn pale, retreat, and surrender, at a talismanic threat to dissolve the Union. . . .

It is often despondingly said that the evil of slavery is beyond our control. Dreadful conclusion, that puts the seal of death upon our country's existence! If we cannot conquer the monster in his infancy, while his cartilages are tender and his limbs powerless, how shall we escape his wrath when he goes forth a gigantic cannibal, seeking whom he may devour? If we cannot safely unloose two millions of slaves now, how shall we bind upwards of TWENTY MILLIONS at the close of the present century? But there is no cause for despair. We have seen how readily, and with what

† In Henry Adams's *Life of John Randolph* we read (p. 281), "On another occasion, he [Randolph] is reported as saying of the people of the North, 'We do not govern them by our black slaves, but by their own white slaves.'"

ease, that horrid gorgon, Intemperance, has been checked in his ravages. Let us take courage. Moral influence, when in vigorous exercise, is irresistible. It has an immortal essence. It can no more be trod out of existence by the iron foot of time, or by the ponderous march of iniquity, than matter can be annihilated. It may disappear for a time; but it lives in some shape or other, in some place or other, and will rise with renovated strength. Let us, then, be up and doing. In the simple and stirring language of the stout-hearted Lundy, "all the friends of the cause must go to work, keep to work, hold on, and never give up."

If it be still objected that it would be dangerous to liberate the present race of blacks,

I answer, the emancipation of all the slaves of this generation is most assuredly out of the question. The fabric, which now towers above the Alps, must be taken away brick by brick, and foot by foot, till it is reduced so low that it may be overturned without burying the nation in its ruins. Years may elapse before the completion of the achievement; generations of blacks may go down to the grave, manacled and lacerated, without a hope for their children; the philanthropists who are now pleading in behalf of the oppressed may not live to witness the dawn which will precede the glorious day of universal emancipation; but the work will go on, laborers in the cause will multiply, new resources will be discovered, the victory will be obtained, worth the desperate struggle of a thousand years. Or, if defeat follow, woe to the safety of this people! The nation will be shaken as if by a mighty earthquake. A cry of horror, a cry of revenge, will go up to heaven in the darkness of midnight, and re-echo from every cloud. Blood will flow like water,—the blood of guilty men and of innocent women and children. Then will be heard lamentations and weeping, such as will blot out the remembrance of the horrors of St. Domingo. The terrible judgments of an incensed God will complete the catastrophe of republican America.

And since so much is to be done for our country; since so many prejudices are to be dispelled, obstacles vanquished, interests secured, blessings obtained; since the cause of emancipation must progress heavily, and meet with much unhallowed opposition,—why delay the work? There must be a beginning, and now is a propitious time,—perhaps the last opportunity that will be granted us by a long-suffering God. No temporizing, lukewarm measures will avail aught. We must put our shoulders to the wheel, and

heave with our united strength. Let us not look coldly on and see our Southern brethren \* contending single-handed against an all-powerful foe,—faint, weary, borne down to the earth. We are all alike guilty. Slavery is strictly a national sin. New England money has been expended in buying human flesh; New England ships have been freighted with sable victims; New England men have assisted in forging the fetters of those who groan in bondage.

I call upon the ambassadors of Christ everywhere to make known this proclamation: “Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me.” I ask them to “proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,”—to light up a flame of philanthropy that shall burn till all Africa be redeemed from the night of moral death and the song of deliverance be heard throughout her borders.

I call upon the churches of the living God to lead in this great enterprise.† If the soul be immortal, priceless, save it from remediless woe. Let them combine their energies, and systematize their plans, for the rescue of suffering humanity. Let them pour out their supplications to Heaven in behalf of the slave. Prayer is omnipotent: its breath can melt adamantine rocks, its touch can break the stoutest chains. Let anti-slavery charity-boxes stand uppermost among those for missionary, tract, and educational purposes. On this subject Christians have been asleep: let them shake off their slumbers, and arm for the holy contest.

I call upon our New England women to form charitable associations to relieve the degraded of their sex. As yet an appeal to their sympathies was never made in vain. They outstrip us in every benevolent race. Females are doing much for the cause at the South: let their example be imitated, and their exertions surpassed, at the North.

I call upon our citizens to assist in establishing auxiliary colonization societies in every State, county, and town. I implore their direct and liberal patronage to the parent society.

I call upon the great body of newspaper editors to keep this subject constantly before their readers; to sound the trumpet of alarm, and to plead eloquently for the rights of man. They

\* An allusion to the few anti-slavery societies among the Friends in some of the Southern States.

† So Daniel Webster, in his Plymouth oration, Dec. 22, 1820, of the African slave trade and of New England complicity with it: “I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent whenever or wherever there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust” (Works, i, 46).



must give the tone to public sentiment. One press may ignite twenty; a city may warm a State; a State may impart a generous heat to a whole country.

I call upon the American people to enfranchise a spot over which they hold complete sovereignty; to cleanse that worse than Augean stable, the District of Columbia, from its foul impurities. I ask them to sustain Congress in any future efforts to colonize the colored population of the States. I conjure them to select those as Representatives who are not too ignorant to know, too blind to see, nor too timid to perform their duty.

I will say, finally, that I despair of the Republic while slavery exists therein. If I look up to God for success, no smile of mercy or forgiveness dispels the gloom of futurity; if to our own resources, they are daily diminishing; if to all history, our destruction is not only possible, but almost certain. Why should we slumber at this momentous crisis? If our hearts were dead to every throb of humanity, if it were lawful to oppress, where power is ample, still, if we had any regard for our safety and happiness, we should strive to crush the Vampire which is feeding upon our life-blood. All the selfishness of our nature cries aloud for a better security. Our own vices are too strong for us, and keep us in perpetual alarm: how, in addition to these, shall we be able to contend successfully with millions of armed and desperate men, as we must eventually, if slavery do not cease?

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William Lloyd Garrison was born in Newburyport, Mass., in 1805. After editing a newspaper in Newburyport for some time, he came to Boston in 1826, presently becoming editor of a temperance paper here. Benjamin Lundy came to Boston from Baltimore about this time, and Garrison became acquainted with him and deeply interested in the anti-slavery cause, in behalf of which Lundy held his first public meeting in Boston on the evening of August 7, 1828, in the vestry of the Federal Street Baptist Church. A report of this meeting was sent to the *Courier* by Mr. Garrison, who after the meeting joined in forming an anti-slavery committee of twenty members. Later in the same year he became the editor of a paper in Bennington, Vt.; but he returned to Boston the next year, and accepted an invitation from the Congregational societies of the city to deliver a Fourth of July address in Park Street Church in the interest of the Colonization Society, announcing as his theme "Dangers to the Nation." The address was printed in full in the *National Philanthropist and Investigator*, July 22 and 29, 1829. The important portions of it are printed in the *Life of William Lloyd Garrison* by his sons, vol. i. p. 127, and reprinted here. Among those who heard Mr. Garrison at the Park Street Church on this afternoon of July 4, 1829, were Whittier and John Pierpont, who wrote

a special hymn for the occasion, which was sung under the direction of Lowell Mason, and was used afterwards at many anti-slavery meetings. Immediately afterwards Garrison left for Baltimore, to join Lundy in publishing the "Genius of Universal Emancipation." Returning to Boston after severe hardships and imprisonment in Baltimore, he issued the first number of the *Liberator* on January 1, 1831. This number of the *Liberator* has been reprinted as one of the Old South Leaflets, No. 78. See also Wendell Phillips's eulogy of Garrison (No. 79) and other leaflets illustrating the anti-slavery movement.

It is worthy of remembrance that this first anti-slavery address of William Lloyd Garrison in Boston was given in Park Street Church,—

"The Giant, standing by the elm-clad green,  
His white lance lifted o'er the silent scene."

Park Street Church has had a great history, even if we forget that "America" was there first sung, with Edward Everett Hale as one of the boys in the Fourth of July audience, and that there Garrison gave his address on July 4, 1829. The first rendering of "America" took place in Park Street church just three years later, July 4, 1832, and fortunately we have an account of it from Dr. Smith's own hand. Lowell Mason was the musical director on this historical occasion also. Much of his great work for our church music was associated with Park Street Church; and this identification of the composer of our strongest and dearest old native church tunes with this finest of our old New England churches is grateful. Park Street church helped to organize the first Sunday-school in Boston, and it is interesting that in its own Sunday-school room "America" should have been first sung. The early Park Street Singing Society was most influential in the musical history of Boston. The place of the church in missionary history has been conspicuous. In 1849 the American Peace Society began to hold its annual conventions here, and this remained the place of its meetings for a dozen years. At the first meeting here Charles Sumner was the speaker, giving his great address on "The War System of Nations," perhaps the greatest single address on Peace and War ever given in America or in the world.

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# Young Heroes of the Civil War.

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THOMAS HUGHES'S TRIBUTE TO THE YOUNG HEROES IN THE  
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, PUBLISHED UNDER THE TITLE  
OF "PEACE ON EARTH" IN "MACMILLAN'S  
MAGAZINE," LONDON, JANUARY, 1866.

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The last time that the season of "peace on earth and good will to men" came round, the great struggle between the free and slave powers in America had not yet come to death-grips. Here, at least, many people still believed that the Southern States could not be subdued, and were sure, sooner or later, to establish their independence, and a new policy which would act for the rest of time as a healthy corrective to the dangerously popular institutions and ideas of New England. The year has passed, and the great revolutionary epic of our time has closed. Perhaps some of us may still stop short of Mr. Seward's triumphant summing up. "Death," he says, in his yearly address to his fellow-citizens at Auburn, "death has removed his victims; liberty has crowned her heroes; humanity has crowned her martyrs; the sick and the stricken are cured; the surviving combatants are fraternizing; and the country—the object of our just pride and lawful affection—once more stands collected and composed, firmer, stronger, and more majestic than ever before, without one cause of dangerous discontent at home, and without an enemy in the world." We may think him somewhat too hopeful in the breadth of his assertions, and may have our fears that it may take a generation yet to weld again into one brotherhood all the States of the Union. But, when he predicts so fearlessly that "under next October's sun he shall be able, with his fellow-townsmen in Auburn, to rejoice in the restoration of peace, harmony, and union throughout the land," we cannot but own that earlier prophecies of his, which



seemed at least as rash, have been fulfilled almost to the letter. In any case, we do all willingly now admit, and honor, the marvellous energy and constancy with which the great game has been played out by the American people. As one of the many Englishmen whose faith in that people never faltered during the contest, I do most heartily rejoice to see that all classes of my countrymen are at last not only ready to appreciate, but hearty in their appreciation of, what has been done for freedom in America in this revolutionary war. I am sure that we now only want further knowledge of facts to honor our kith and kin across the Atlantic as they deserve to be honored for the glorious sacrifices which they made of all that was most precious and dearest to them in a struggle upon which not only their own life as a nation, but the future of at least one-third of the world, was at stake.

In this belief, I think that Christmas is the right time for bringing out into somewhat clearer light a side of the drama which has not been as yet fairly presented to us here: I mean, first, the strain on the resources of the Northern States while the war lasted; and, secondly, the heroism of the men of gentle birth and nurture, who, so far from shrinking from the work, and fighting by substitute (as was asserted by some of our leading journals), took at least their fair share of all the dangers and miseries and toils of those dark years.

First, then, as to the people's work; and, highly as we may value the men who have come to the front, and whose names as soldiers and statesmen are now known over the whole world, we must acknowledge that the true hero of the war is, after all, the American people. In proof of this I will take one or two of the Northern States, and look for a moment at what the call was which was made on them, and how they answered to it. Let us look, as a first instance, at the smallest in area of all the States and the smallest in population of all the free States. Little Rhode Island, at the census of 1860, just before the breaking out of the war, contained a population of 174,620. As usual in the Eastern States, the females considerably exceeded the males, and of the latter there were 82,304 altogether. Up to December 1, 1862,—that is to say, in less than two years from the first call of the President for troops,—Rhode Island furnished 14,626 men to the army and 1,400 to the navy, or almost one in five of her total male population, and, of course, far more than that proportion of her men of fighting age, between 18 and 45. In the first enthusiasm, when the call for 500,000 men came in the summer of 1861, the quota of

Rhode Island was 4,057, and she furnished 5,124. I do not give the later returns, because there appears to have been a large number of substitutes amongst her recruits after 1862, and I have no means of knowing whether these were or were not natives of the State. There is no need to overstate the case, and I should on every account shrink from doing so. Rhode Island, though the smallest, is tenth in rank of all the States as a producer, and her people are consequently rich and prosperous. If, in the later years of the war, they found substitutes in large numbers, it must be, at the same time, remembered that they contributed more largely than any other State, in proportion to numbers, to that noblest of all charities,—the Sanitary Commission.

But Englishmen will very likely say, "Give us an instance of any but a New England State: they are exceptional." Let us take Indiana, then, one of the mighty young Western sisters, a community scarce half a century old. A stronger contrast to Rhode Island could scarcely have been found. Indiana in 1860 possessed 8,161,717 acres of improved farming land, Rhode Island but 329,884. Indiana was fifth of all the States in agricultural production, and thirteenth in manufacturing, Rhode Island standing tenth, or three higher than her gigantic younger sister. Yet we find the same readiness of response to the President's call to arms amongst the Western farmers as amongst New England mechanics and merchants. The population of Indiana is returned in the census of 1860 at 1,350,428, and her males at 693,469. On the 31st of December, 1862, she had furnished 102,698 soldiers, besides a militia home-guard when her frontiers were threatened. When Morgan made his raid into the State, 60,000 tendered their services within twenty-four hours, and nearly 20,000 were on his track within three days. I do not happen in this case to have the later returns, and so must turn back to New England, to the old Puritan Bay State, to give one perfect example of what the American people did in the great struggle.

Massachusetts, at the outbreak of the war, held a population of 1,230,000, or thereabouts, out of which there were 257,833 males between the ages of fifteen and forty. The first blood shed in the war against the slave power, as in the Revolutionary War against England, was Massachusetts blood. The Sixth Massachusetts was fired on in the streets of Baltimore on April 19, 1861, and had to fight its way through the town, losing four killed and thirty wounded in the operation. Well, the number of men demanded of Massachusetts during the war was 117,624. The number

furnished by her (reducing all to the three years' standard) was 125,437, being a surplus over all calls of 7,813. Besides these, 6,670 were mustered in answer to a call for three months' men in 1864, which were never credited to her by the government. Look at the meaning now of this other fact, that she has actually sent more men to the war than are now to be found in the State liable to do military duty. How does this tell as to wear and tear of the human material in those Southern campaigns? The last assessors' return gave these at 133,767; while the total number who served (including three and nine months' men, and not adhering to the three years' standard) was 153,486. Out of these, how many does the reader (who has probably heard more or less of "stopping the war by prohibiting emigration from Ireland," and of "New England hiring foreign mercenaries to do the fighting") think were foreign recruits? Just 907. This does not include men born out of the State, but resident or naturalized there before the war broke out. These latter, however, I suppose could not come within the definition of foreign mercenaries; and, of foreigners arriving in America during the war, Massachusetts enlisted, as I have said, 907 out of 150,000. While on this point, I may add that the most reliable statistics as to the whole forces of the North show that of native-born Americans there were nearly eighty per cent., of naturalized Americans fifteen, and of foreigners five per cent. only, in the ranks.

I can honestly say that I have chosen these States at hazard, and that a scrutiny of the remaining free States would give a very similar result. And now let us consider what that result is. Rhode Island, Indiana, and Massachusetts may, perhaps, equal in population this metropolis with its immediate suburbs; while one of them alone actually sent to active service, in the four years of the war, an army equal in numbers to the total volunteer force now under arms in Great Britain. Rhode Island is not so populous as Sheffield; and in eighteen months she armed and sent South 15,000 of her citizens. I know that England, in like need, would be equal to a like effort. Let us honor, then, as they deserve the people of our own lineage, to whom the call has come, and who have met it.

I need scarcely pause to note how the Northern people have paid in purse as well as in person. Let one instance suffice. In 1864 the assessment of Massachusetts for taxes to support the general government amounted to fourteen millions, every fraction of which was collected without impediment or delay. Add to



this the State taxation and the amounts contributed to the Sanitary Commission and other organizations for distributing voluntary contributions in support of the war, and we should reach a figure almost exceeding belief. I have no means of stating it accurately, but am quite safe in putting it as high as twenty-five million dollars, actually raised and paid, by a State with a population less than half of that of our metropolis, in one twelvemonth.

And now for my second point,—the example set by the men of birth, wealth, and high position. Here, too, I feel sure that a few simple facts, taken at hazard from the mass which I have under my hand, will be more than enough to satisfy every just and generous man amongst my countrymen; and I am proud to believe that, whatever our prejudices may be, there are few indeed amongst us to whom such an appeal will be made in vain.

I have said above that the mass of materials is large: I might have said unmanageable. It is, indeed, impossible to take more than an example here and there, and to bring these out as clearly as one can in the limits of an article. Let me take as mine a family or two, with some one or more of whose members I have the honor of friendship or acquaintance. And, first, that of J. Russell Lowell, the man to whose works I owe more, personally, than to those of any other American. It would be hard to find a nobler record. The young men of this stock seem to have been all of high mark, distinguished specially for intellectual power and attainments. Surely, the sickle of war has never been put more unsparingly into any field. First in order comes Willie Putnam, age twenty-one, the sole surviving son of Lowell's sister, a boy of the highest culture and promise, mortally wounded at Ball's Bluff in October, 1861, in the first months of the war, while in the act of going to the help of a wounded companion. At the same bitter fight his cousin, James Jackson Lowell, aged twenty-four, was badly hurt, but, after a short absence to recruit, joined his regiment again, and fell on June 30, 1862. "Tell my father I was dressing the line of my company when I was hit," was his last message home. He had been first in his year at Harvard, and was taking private pupils in the law school when the war broke out. Warren Russell fell at Bull's Run in August, 1862. Many of us here may remember the account, which was reprinted in the "Times" and other papers, of the presentation of colors to the Second Massachusetts Infantry by Mr. Motley, at Boston, in the summer of 1861. It attracted special notice from the fact that the author of the "History of the Dutch Republic" had been

so lately living amongst us, and was so well known and liked here. The group of officers who received these colors were the very *jeunesse dorée* of Massachusetts,—Quincy, Dwight, Abbot, Robeson, Russell, Shaw, Gordon, Savage, Perkins. Such a roll will speak volumes to all who have any acquaintance with New England history. Those colors have come home riddled, tattered, blackened; but five-sixths of the young officers have given their lives for them, and of the one thousand rank and file who then surrounded them, scarcely one hundred and fifty survive. This by the way. I refer to the muster because Robert Shaw was amongst those officers,—a name already honored in those pages, and another nephew of Lowell's. Shaw's sister married Charles Lowell, of whom more presently. We all know how Robert Shaw, after two years' gallant service, accepted the command of the first black regiment raised in Massachusetts (the Fifty-Fourth); how he led them in the operations before Charleston, and was buried with his "niggers" in the pit under Fort Wagner,—the grandest sepulture earned by any soldier of this century. By his side fought and died Cabot Russell, the third of Lowell's nephews, then a captain of a black company. Stephen George Perkins, another nephew, was killed at Cedar Creek; and Francis Dutton Russell at one of the innumerable Virginia battles.

I pass to the last on the list, and the most remarkable. Charles Russell Lowell, the only brother of the James who died "dressing his line," was also the first scholar of his year (1854) at Harvard. He had visited Europe for health, and made long riding tours in Spain and Algeria, where he became a consummate horseman. On the day after the Sixth Massachusetts were fired on in Baltimore streets, Charles Lowell heard of it, and started by the next train to Washington, passing through Baltimore. All communication between the two cities was suspended, but he arrived on foot at Washington in forty-eight hours. In those first days of confusion he became agent for Massachusetts at Washington, and brought order out of chaos, for his own State, before joining the army. His powers of command and organization gained him rapid promotion. He served with distinction in the Peninsula campaigns of McClellan, and, after Antietam, was selected to carry the captured standards to Washington. He raised a second cavalry regiment at home in the winter of 1862. He was placed in command of the cavalry force which protected Washington during the dark days of 1863. In Sheridan's brilliant campaign of 1864 he commanded the cavalry brigade, of four regular regi-

ments, and the Second Massachusetts volunteer cavalry. He had thirteen horses shot under him before the battle of Cedar Creek on October 19; was badly wounded early in that day, and lifted on to his fourteenth horse to lead the final charge, so faint that he had to give his orders in a whisper. Urged by those round him to leave the field, he pressed on to the critical point of attack; and himself led the last charge, which ended one of the most obstinate battles of the war. It is the death of this nephew which wrung from his uncle the lines which occur in one of the last "Biglow Papers" published in one of last winter's numbers of the *Atlantic Magazine*:—

"Wut's words to them whose faith and truth  
On War's red techstone rang true metal,  
Who ventured life, an' love, an' youth,  
For the gret prize o' deth in battle?  
To him who, deadly hurt, agen  
Flashed on afore the charge's thunder,  
Tippin' with fire the bolt of men  
That rived the rebel line asunder?

"'Ta'n't right to hev the young go fust,  
All throbbin' full o' gifts and graces,  
Leaving life's paupers dry as dust  
To try and make b'lieve fill their places;  
Nothin' but tells us wut we miss:  
Ther's gaps our lives can't never bay in,  
An' *thet* world seems so fur from this,  
Lef' for us loafers to grow gray in."

He died next day of his wounds, leaving a widow of twenty, himself not thirty. The gazette, in which his commission as general was published, did not reach the army till after his death. Sheridan, with the generosity which most of the great Northern captains have shown, declared that the country could better have spared himself, and that there was no one quality of a soldier which he could have wished added to Charles Lowell.

My first example, then, gives us one family, in which there was no soldier in 1860, losing eight young men under thirty in little more than three years' fighting.

I have mentioned the name of Motley above. Let us see how it fared with his circle. He has assured me more than once that of his own immediate family there were fewer than the average in the ranks; but he had at least five near relatives serving,—three Lothrop's, one of whom was killed in Louisiana; Major Motley, badly wounded in Virginia early in 1864; and Major Stackpole,



another highly distinguished graduate of Harvard, who served through the whole war, and has now resumed his practice as a barrister. Miss Motley married Captain Ives, a gentleman of fortune in Rhode Island, who was travelling in Europe when the war broke out. He volunteered into the navy, commanded the Potomac flotilla, and accompanied Burnside's expedition to North Carolina, where he contracted the illness of which he has since died. His cousin, Robert Ives, also a man of large fortune, volunteered into the army, and was killed at Antietam. I believe they were the two last men who bore the name of Ives in their State.

The name of Wadsworth is better known here than most American names in consequence of its English connection. The head of the family was a country gentleman living on his estates in Geneseo, in New York State, up to 1860, with a family of three sons and three daughters. At the news of the attack on the Union troops in Baltimore he instantly chartered a steamer, loaded her with provisions, and sent her up the Potomac,—a most timely aid to the capital. He acted as aide-de-camp to McDowell, and was his right hand man in the Bull Run Campaign, "his youngest as well as his oldest aide"; was made a general soon afterwards; and after several campaigns was placed in command of Washington. His reputation as an officer had now become such that at the beginning of the last campaign every corps commander of the Army of the Potomac applied to the War Department to have him with them as brigadier. He was killed in the Wilderness in the last advance on Richmond. His three sons have all served, the youngest having enlisted at sixteen. Thus every man in the family served; and the only married daughter is the widow of Colonel Montgomery Ritchie, one of two brothers, both of whom served with distinction, one to the sacrifice of his life by the same subtle disease that struck down Captain Ives.

I could go to any length, for my acquaintance with Americans is large, and I scarcely know a man who has not lost some relative in the war. But apart from one's own acquaintance there is scarcely one of the famous colonial and Revolutionary names which has not been represented. The Jays, Adamses, Schuylers, Livingstons, Van Rensselaers, have not failed their country in her second great need, and have fought well and worked hard, though the present holders of these honored names, mostly quiet young men, have not had time to reach their ancestors' places. The bearers of great names, I take it, do not get such a start in the States as

with us at home. A descendant (grandson, I believe) of Alexander Hamilton, however, became a general, while several of his cousins remained in lower ranks. Colonel Fletcher Webster, only surviving son of Daniel Webster, was killed in Virginia.

Perhaps the man who excited most the hopes and martial enthusiasm of Americans in the first month of the war was Major Theodore Winthrop, a descendant of the famous Governor John Winthrop, scholar, traveller, poet, athlete, who was killed at the disastrous battle of Great Bethel, June 10, 1861. A son of General Porter, who was distinguished in the last war with us, fell as a colonel in the spring campaign of 1864. Even the families famous, as yet, for wealth only have not shrunk from the fighting, one Astor, at least, and Cuttings, Schermerhorns, Lydigs, and others, having held their own in the volunteer ranks.

Or—let us come to names more familiar than any other transatlantic ones to us—the Boston group. Longfellow's young son (Charlie, as I hear all men call him) has managed to fight a campaign, and get badly hit in Louisiana, at an age when our boys are thinking of their Freshman's term at Oxford. Oliver Wendell Holmes (junior), poet, artist, Greek scholar, virtuoso, has been twice—I was going to say killed—well, shot through the body and neck and again in the heel; and, having fought through all to the end of the war, is again busy with brush and pen. Olmstead has fought with mightier weapons than rifled cannon, at the head of the Sanitary Commission. Of four brothers Dwight, two were killed and a third fought his way to General. Whittiers, Appletons, Lorings, Crowninshields, Dehons—but I will tax my readers' patience no longer with rolls of names which perhaps, to most of them, will be names and nothing more. Let this last summing up of the work of men of birth and position in one State suffice (I choose Massachusetts again, because, thanks to Governor Andrew, we have more accurate returns as to her over here than as to any other State): Since the declaration of war, 434 officers from Massachusetts have been killed,—9 Generals, 16 Colonels, 17 Lieutenant-colonels, 20 Majors, 15 Surgeons, 2 Chaplains, 110 Captains, and 245 Lieutenants. Of the 35 General officers from that State, 10 only have escaped wounds.

Of all the living graduates of Harvard (the university of highest repute in America), one-fifth, or, to be as accurate as possible, nineteen and some fraction per cent., have served with the army. At Yale College the percentage has been even higher. Conceive a struggle which should bring one in every five of men who

have taken degrees at Oxford and Cambridge under fire, and which should call on us, besides our regular army, to keep on foot and recruit for three years a volunteer army five times as large as our present one.

Such plain facts and returns as these will, I am sure, convince the last skeptic—if there be one left amongst us at this Yule tide, 1865—that New England has not spared of her best blood in the great day of the Lord, under the burden and heat of which the whole North has reeled and staggered indeed, but without ever bating heart or hope, and always gaining fresh power, through three years of war, which have seemed—nay, which have been—a lifetime. In such crises time is not measured by years or days. The America which looked on paralyzed and doubtful when John Brown prophesied all these things on his way to the scaffold, kissing a negro child as he passed along, while Stonewall Jackson and his pupils guarded the gibbet,—the America of State sovereignty and Dred Scott law, in which the gospel news meant avowedly “good will to *white* men,” and abolitionism was loathed as a vulgar and mischievous fanaticism,—is as far behind us to-day, for all practical purposes, as the England of the Stuarts or the France of the Regency. What this means, for the Old World as well as for the New, I will not pause to consider. My estimate might raise smiles or provoke criticism amongst us, both of which (good as they are in their right time and place) I am anxious here to avoid.

I prefer, at parting, to endeavor to put my readers in sympathy with the spirit, the heart, and conscience of the North, in the presence of their astounding success. I cannot do this better than by a glance at the commemoration of the living and dead soldiers of the Harvard University. Commemoration Day at Harvard, in July, 1865, must indeed have stamped itself indelibly on the memories of all those sons of the first of American universities who were present at the gathering. To me, I own, even the meagre reports one got over here in the American papers were unspeakably touching. The irrepressible joy of a people delivered, after years of stern work and patient waiting, from an awful burden, almost too heavy for mortal shoulders to bear, tempered, as it was, by the tenderest sympathy for the families of the fallen, and a solemn turning to give glory and thanks, with full heart, to that God who giveth victory, and healeth wounded spirits, and standeth above His people as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land,—the mingled cry of triumph and agony,



and trust and love, which went up from the very heart of that meeting,—must ever, to my mind, rank amongst the most noble, the most sublime pieces of history of the century in which we are living. Let the reader consider the following as compared with the ordinary commemoration poetry. The first is the hymn written for the commemoration service, by Robert Lowell:—

“Thy work, O God, goes on in earth,  
With shouts of war, and harvest songs;  
A ready will is all our worth;  
To Thee our Maker all belongs.

“Thanks for our great and dear, who knew  
To lavish life great needs to earn;  
Our dead, our living, brave and true,  
To each who served Thee in his turn.

“Show us true life as in Thy Son;  
Breathe through our flesh the Holy Ghost;  
Then earth’s strongholds are stormed and won;  
Then man dies faithful at his post.

“They crowd behind us to this shade,  
The youth who own the coming years;  
Be never God, or land, betrayed,  
By any son our Harvard rears!”

My second quotation shall be a stanza from the “Commemoration Ode,” by the best known member of the family, James Russell Lowell, author of the “Biglow Papers”:—

“Bow down, dear Land, for thou hast found release!  
Thy God, in these distempered days,  
Hath taught thee the sure wisdom of His ways,  
And through thine enemies hath wrought thy peace!  
Bow down in prayer and praise!  
O Beautiful! my Country! ours once more!  
Smoothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair  
O’er such sweet brows as never other wore,  
And letting thy set lips,  
Freed from wrath’s pale eclipse,  
The rosy edges of their smile lay bare,  
What words divine of lover or of poet  
Could tell our love and make thee know it,  
Among the Nations bright beyond compare?  
What were our lives without thee?  
What all our lives to save thee?  
We reckon not what we gave thee;  
We will not dare to doubt thee;  
But ask whatever else, and we will dare!”

Was ever truer or braver ring struck out of the metal of which English-speaking men are made? If so, I for one have yet to learn when and where. And now, at this Christmas time, when their tremendous storm-cloud has broken up, and nothing but a light streak or two of vapor is to be seen in their heavens, let us seize this precious moment, never to recur again in their or our history, and by graceful and loyal word and deed show them that we honor, as it deserves, the work they have done for the world since the election of 1860, and can sympathize with their high hopes for the future of their continent with no jealousy or distrust, as brethren of the same stock and children of the same Father.

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This noble tribute by Thomas Hughes to the young heroes of the American Civil War was felt at the time to be so noteworthy that it was reprinted in the report of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, January 1, 1866,—which report altogether contains a mass of valuable material relating to the part of Massachusetts in the Civil War, including an account of the impressive military ceremony upon the return of the colors of the different regiments to the State on Forefathers' Day, 1865, with the address by Governor Andrew and poem by General Sargent. Adjutant-General Schouler, in reprinting Mr. Hughes's memorable article, said: "It would be folly to discriminate between the various classes of citizens which have contributed of their members and substance to sustain the Union cause, with men and money, during the Rebellion, when all have done so nobly. No class held back. When the President issued his calls for men, the men came. When the Sanitary and Christian Commissions required contributions, to supply the sufferers in the hospitals with clothing and other necessities, and to furnish good books and religious consolations to our soldiers in the field and elsewhere, the requirements were supplied with unstinted benevolence. There is hardly a family in the Commonwealth that has not furnished a husband, a son, or brother to the ranks, or that has failed to contribute liberally of its substance to their support and comfort when in the field."

Thomas Hughes, known to boys the world over as the author of "Tom Brown's School Days at Rugby," was born at Uffington in England, near Wantage, the birthplace of Alfred the Great, in 1822, and died in 1896. His life was largely passed in London, in the profession of the law; and he was always active in social and political reform, being for a time member of Parliament. He was associated with Maurice and Kingsley in the Christian Socialist movement, and was the founder of the Workingmen's College in London. He was the author of various valuable works, including "Tom Brown at Oxford" and a Life of Alfred the Great. A complete list of his writings may be found in the careful article upon him in the Dictionary of National Biography. There is a fine statue of him in the school-grounds at Rugby. He had a great admiration for the poetry of Lowell, and in 1859, in collaboration with J. M. Ludlow, wrote an introduction for an English edition of the "Biglow Papers." He was one of the most steadfast and outspoken English friends of the Union cause during our Civil War. In 1870 he first visited the United States, and gave two addresses, one in Boston on "John to Jonathan," and one in New York on the Labor Question. He was afterwards interested in establishing an English colony at Rugby, Tenn.

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# Farewell Address as Mayor of Boston, 1829.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

*Gentlemen of the Board of Aldermen:*

Having been called, nearly six years since, by my fellow-citizens to the office of their chief magistrate, and having during that period been six times honored by their suffrages for that station, I have endeavored, uniformly, to perform its duties to the best of my ability, with unremitting zeal and fidelity. At the late election it was twice indicated by a majority of those who thought the subject important enough to attend the polls that they were willing to dispense with my services. According to the sound principles of a republican constitution, by which the will of a majority distinctly expressed concerning the continuance in office of public servants is to them the rule of duty, I withdrew from being any longer a cause of division to my fellow-citizens, declaring that "no consideration would induce me again to accept that office." These were not words of passion or of wounded pride or temporary disgust, but of deep conviction concerning future duty, in attaining which my obligations to my fellow-citizens were weighed as carefully as those which I owe to my own happiness and self-respect.

I stand, then, to this office in a relation final and forever closed. There are rights and duties which result from this condition. It is an occasion on which acknowledgments ought to be made, feelings to be expressed, justice to be done, obligations to be performed. To fulfil these duties, I have thought proper to seek and avail myself of this opportunity.



And first, gentlemen, permit me to express to you that deep and lasting sense of gratitude which is felt for all the kindness, support, and encouragement with which you have lightened and strengthened official labors. In bearing testimony to the intelligence, activity, and fidelity with which you have fulfilled the duties of your station, I but join the common voice of your fellow-citizens. With me your intercourse has been uniformly characterized by a willing and affectionate zeal, leaving in this respect nothing to be desired, and resulting on my part in an esteem which will make the recollection of our association in these duties among the most grateful of my life. Accept my thanks for the interest and assiduity with which you have aided and sustained endeavors to advance the prosperity of this city.

I owe also to the gentlemen of the Common Council a public expression of my obligations for the candor and urbanity with which they have received and canvassed all my communications. It is a happy omen for our city that for so many successive years the intercourse between the branches and members of its government has been distinguished for gentlemanly character not less than for official respect. The collisions which are naturally to be expected in a community where rival interests and passions exist have never disturbed the harmony of either council. When diversity of opinion has arisen, a spirit of mutual concession has presided over the controversy. Happy if in this respect past years shall be prototypes of those which are to come!

To my fellow-citizens who for so many years have supported or endured an administration conducted on none of the principles by which popularity is ordinarily sought and acquired, I have no language to express my respect or my gratitude. I know well that recent events have given rise in some minds to reflections on the fickleness of the popular will and on the ingratitude of republics. As if the right to change was not as inherent as the right to continue, for the just exercise of this right the people being responsible, and to bear the consequences! As if permission to serve a people at all, and the opportunity thus afforded to be useful to the community to which we belong and owe so many obligations, were not ample recompense for any labors or any sacrifices made or endured in its behalf! Is it wonderful or a subject of reproach that in a populous city, where infinitely varying passions and prejudices and interests and motives must necessarily exist, an individual who had enjoyed the favor of its citizens for six years should be deprived of it on the seventh? Is it not more a

matter of surprise that it has been enjoyed so long than that it is lost at last?

At no one moment have I concealed from myself or my fellow-citizens that the experiment carrying on was one very dubious in its effects on continuance in office. Who that knows the nature of man, and the combinations which for particular ends at times take place in society, could hesitate to believe that an administration which should neither court the few nor stand in awe of the many, which should identify itself exclusively with the rights of the city, maintaining them not merely with the zeal of official station, but with the pertinacious spirit of private interest, which in executing the laws should hunt vice in its recesses, turn light upon the darkness of its haunts, and wrest the poisonous cup from the hand of the unlicensed pander, which should dare to resist private interest seeking to corrupt, personal influence striving to sway, party rancor slandering to intimidate, would in time become obnoxious to all whom it prosecuted or punished, all whose passions it thwarted, whose projects it detected, whose interests it crossed? Who could doubt that from these causes there would in time come an accumulation of discontent; that, sooner or later, the ground swell would rise above the land-marks with a tide which would sweep it from its foundations?

In the first address which nearly six years ago I had the honor to make to the City Council, the operation of these causes was distinctly stated almost in the terms just used, and the event which has now occurred was anticipated. Nothing was then promised except "a laborious fulfilment of every known duty, a prudent exercise of every invested power, a disposition shrinking from no official responsibility, and an absolute self-devotion to the interest of the city."

I stand this day in the midst of the multitude of my brethren and ask, without pride, yet without fear, Have I failed in fulfilling this promise? Let your hearts answer.

Other obligations remain. A connection which has subsisted long and happily is about to be dissolved, and forever. To look back on the past and consider the present is natural and proper on the occasion. I stand indebted to my fellow-citizens for a length and uniformity of support seldom exemplified in cities where the executive office depends upon popular election. They have stood by me nobly and with effect in six trials. In the seventh, though unsuccessful, I was not forsaken.

To such men I owe more than silent gratitude. Their friendship,

their favor, the honors they have so liberally bestowed, demand return, not in words, but in acts. I owe it to such goodness to show that their confidence has not been misplaced, their favor not been abused, and that their friendship and support, so often given in advance, have been justified by the event.

What, then, has the departing city administration done? What good has it effected? What evil averted? What monument exists of its faithfulness and efficiency?

If in the recapitulation I am about to make I shall speak in general terms, and sometimes in language of apparent personal reference, let it be understood once for all that this will be owing to the particular relation in which I stand at this moment to the subject and to my fellow-citizens, and by no means to any disposition to claim more than a common share of whatever credit belongs to that administration. This I delight to acknowledge is chiefly due to those excellent and faithful men who, during successive years, have in both branches of the City Council been the light and support of the government, by whose intelligence and practical skill I have conducted its affairs full as often as by my own. The obligations I owe to these men I mean neither to deny nor to conceal. Speedily, and as soon as other duties permit, it is my purpose, in another way and in a more permanent form, to do justice to their gratuitous labors and unobtrusive fidelity.

Touching the measures and results of the administration which will soon be past, I necessarily confine myself to a few particular topics, and those either the most vital to our safety and prosperity or, in my apprehension, the most necessary to be understood. Time will not permit, nor on this occasion would it be proper, to speak of all the various objects of a prudential, economical, restrictive, or ornamental character which, in adapting a new organization of government to the actual state of things, have been attempted or executed.

I shall chiefly refer to what has been done by way of protection against the elements, in favor of the general health, in support of public education, and in advancement of public morals.

The element which chiefly endangers cities is that of fire. It cannot at this day be forgotten by my fellow-citizens with what labor and hazard of popularity the old department was abolished and the new established. From the visible and active energy which members of a fire department take in the protection of the city against that element, they always have been and always must be objects of general regard. Great as is the just popularity at



present enjoyed by that department, the same public favor was largely enjoyed by their predecessors. Those who at that time composed it were a hardy, industrious, effective body of men who had been long inured to the service and who, having the merit of veterans, naturally imbibed the errors into which old soldiers in a regular service are accustomed to fall. They were prejudiced in favor of old modes and old weapons. They had little or no confidence in a hose system; and, above all, they were beset with the opinion that the continuance of their corps was essential to the safety of the city. More than once it was said distinctly to the executive of the city that, "if they threw down the engines, none else could be found capable of taking them up." Under the influence of such opinions they demanded of the city a specified annual sum for each company. It was refused. And in one day all the engines in the city were surrendered by their respective companies. And on the same day every engine was supplied with a new company by the voluntary association of public-spirited individuals.

From that time a regular systematic organization of the fire department was begun, and gradually effected. The best models of engines were sought, the best experience consulted which our own or other cities possessed. New engines were obtained, old ones repaired, proper sites for engine-houses sought; when suitable locations were found, purchased, and those built; when such were not found, they were hired. No requisite preparation for efficiency was omitted, and every reasonable inducement to enter and remain in the service extended.

The efficient force and state of preparation of this department now consists of 1,200 men and officers, 20 engines, 1 Hook and Ladder Company, 800 buckets, 7,000 feet of hose, 25 hose carriages, and every species of apparatus necessary for strength of the department or for the accommodation of its members.

In this estimate also ought to be included fifteen reservoirs, containing three hundred and fifty thousand gallons of water, located in different parts of the city, besides those sunk in the Mill Creek, and the command of water obtained by those connected with the pipes belonging to the aqueduct.

Of all the expenditures of the city government, none perhaps have been so often denominated extravagant as those connected with this department. But when the voluntary nature of the service, its importance, and the security and confidence actually attained are considered, it is believed they can be justified.

In four years all the objects enumerated, including the reservoirs, have cost a sum not exceeding \$60,000, which is about \$48,000 more than the old department in a like series of years was accustomed to cost. The value of the fixed and permanent property now existing, in engine-houses and their sites, engines and apparatus, and reservoirs, cannot be estimated at less than \$20,000. So that the actual expenditure of the new department beyond the old, for these four years, cannot be stated at more than five thousand dollars a year, or \$20,000. Now it will be found that in consequence solely of the efficiency of this department there has been a reduction of *twenty per cent.* on the rate of insurance within the period above specified. By this reduction of premiums alone there is an annual gain to the city on its insurable real estate of \$10,000, the whole cost remunerated in two years. In this connection let it be remembered how great is the security in this respect now enjoyed by the city, and that previously to its establishment two fires, that in Central, Kilby, and Broad Streets and that in Beacon Street, occasioned a loss to it, at the least estimate, of *eight hundred thousand dollars!*

Unquestionably, greater economy may be introduced hereafter into this department in modes which were impracticable at its commencement and in its earlier progress. Measures having that tendency have been suggested. These, doubtless, future City Councils will adopt, or substitute in their stead such as are wiser and better.

All the chief great expenses necessary to perfect efficiency have been incurred; and little more remains to be done than to maintain the present state of completeness in its appointments.

Under this head of protection against the elements may be justly included the preservation of our harbor from the effects of waves and tempests. By the vigilance and successive application of the city government, the protection of the two great islands, on which depends the safety of our internal and external roadsteads, has been undertaken by the general government; and works are finished or in progress of a magnitude and strength exceeding all antecedent hope or expectation.

In relation to what has been done in favor of general health, when this administration came into power, of the two great branches on which depends the health of a city, the removal of street dirt and of that which accumulates in and about the houses of private families, the former was almost entirely neglected and the latter was conducted in a manner exceedingly

offensive to the citizens. So great was the clamor and urgency of the citizens and so imperious was deemed the duty, that the records of the mayor and aldermen will show that the present executive on the first day of his office, indeed before he had been inducted into it an hour, made a recommendation to the City Council on the subject. From that time to the present the arrangement of those subjects has been an object of incessant attention and labor. It was until early in the present year a subject of perpetual struggle and controversy, first with the old Board of Health who claimed the jurisdiction of it, then with contractors whose interests the new arrangements thwarted, then with the citizens with whose habits or prejudices or interests they sometimes interfered. The inhabitants of the country were indignant that they could not enjoy their ancient privilege of carrying away the street dirt when they pleased and the offal of families as they pleased. The inhabitants of the city, forgetting the nature of the material and the necessity of its being subjected to general regulations, were also indignant because they "could not, as they did formerly, do what they would with their own." For three years the right of the city to control this subject was contested in courts of law, and it was not until last April that the city authority overcame all opposition and acquired by a judicial decision complete jurisdiction in the case.

Since that time the satisfaction of the citizens with the conduct of this troublesome concern, indicated not only by direct acknowledgment, but also by evidence still more unequivocal, has equalled every reasonable wish and exceeded all previous anticipation. I state as a fact that in a city containing probably sixty-five thousand inhabitants and under an administration inviting and soliciting complaints against its agents during seven months, from May to November, both inclusive, amidst a hot season in which a local alarm of infectious fever naturally excited great anxiety concerning the causes tending to produce it, the whole number of complaints from citizens whose families were neglected by the agents of the city, made or known to the mayor or to any officers of the city, amounted only to the number of *eight in a month, or two in a week*, for the whole city; and four-fifths of these, it is asserted by the intelligent and faithful Superintendent of the Streets, were owing to the faults of domestics rather than to his agents,—a degree of efficient action on a most difficult subject which it is the interest of the citizens never to forget, as it shows what may be done, and therefore what they have a right to require.



I refer to this topic with the more distinctness because it is one of vital interest, not only to this, but to all populous cities. I know not that the practicability of establishing an efficient system for the removal from populous cities of these common and unavoidable nuisances has anywhere been more satisfactorily put to the test. Nor has the evidence of the direct effects of such efficiency upon the general health of the population been anywhere more distinctly exhibited by facts. I speak before citizens who have enjoyed the benefits of these arrangements, who now enjoy them, who see what can be effected, and what is reasonable, therefore, for them in this respect to claim at the hands of their public agents.

I cannot close this head without referring to the tables connected with, and the facts stated in, the address I had the honor to make to the City Council at the commencement of the present year.

It is there stated that the city authorities commenced a systematic cleansing of the city and removal of noxious animal and vegetable substances, with reference to the improvement of the general health and comfort, in the year 1823.

"That the bills of mortality of this city, and calculations made on them for the eleven years from 1813 to 1823, inclusive, show that the annual average proportion of deaths to the population was about *one in forty-two*."

"Similar estimates on the bills of mortality of this city since 1823 show that this annual average proportion was for the four years from 1824 to 1827, inclusive, less than *one in fifty*, for the two years from 1826 to 1827, inclusive, less than *one in fifty-five*."

It now appears that on the principles stated in these tables, for the *three* years just terminated, 1826, 1827, 1828, the annual average proportion of deaths to population was less than *one in fifty-seven*.

Upon the usual estimates of this nature a city of equal population in which this annual average should not exceed *one in forty-seven* would be considered as enjoying an extraordinary degree of health.

From the facts thus stated it is maintained that this city does enjoy an uncommon and gradually increasing state of general health, and that for the four last years it has been unexampled. And although the whole of this important improvement in the general health of the city is not attributed to the measures of the police, yet since in the year 1823 a system was adopted expressly for the purpose of preventing disease by an efficient and timely

removal of nuisances, it is just and reasonable to claim for that system a portion of the credit for that freedom from disease which, subsequently to their adoption, has resulted in a degree so extraordinary.

The residue of what was then said upon this topic I repeat as being important enough to be reiterated.

“I am thus distinct in alluding to this subject because the removal of the nuisances of a city is a laborious, difficult, and repulsive service, requiring much previous arrangement and constant vigilance, and is attended with frequent disappointment of endeavors, whence it happens there is a perpetual natural tendency in those intrusted with municipal affairs to throw the trouble and responsibility of it upon subordinate agents and contractors, and very plausible arguments of economy may be adduced in favor of such a system. But, if experience and reflection have given certainty to my mind upon any subject, it is upon this,—that upon the right conduct of this branch of the police the executive powers of a city should be made directly responsible, more than for any other, and that it can never, for any great length of time, be executed well except by agents under its immediate control and whose labors it may command at all times in any way which the necessities, continually varying and often impossible to be anticipated, of a city in this respect require.”

“In the whole sphere of municipal duties there are none more important than those which relate to the removal of those substances whose exhalations injuriously affect the air. A pure atmosphere is to a city what a good conscience is to an individual,—a perpetual source of comfort, tranquillity, and self-respect.”

In relation to what has been done for the support of public education, considering the multiplied and pressing objects of attention necessarily occurring in the first years of a new organization of government, I know not that a greater degree of support of this branch of public service could have been justly given or reasonably expected than has occurred. Under our ancient institutions the scale of appropriations for this object was, of all others, the most liberal and complete. It was founded in 1823, with an annual expenditure of \$44,500. It is left at this day with one of \$56,000. In the interval two school-houses have been built, and sites purchased at an additional direct expenditure of upwards of \$55,000. In addition to which the House of Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, which is in fact a school of most important character,

has been established and supported at an expense already incurred of upwards of \$16,000.

But the High School for girls has been suspended. As on this topic I have reason to think very gross misrepresentations and falsehoods have been circulated in every form of the tongue and the press, I shall speak plainly, it being, in fact, a subject on which my opinion has at no time been concealed.

This school was adopted, declaredly, as "an experiment." It was placed under the immediate care of its known authors. It may be truly said that its impracticability was proved before it went into operation. The pressure for admission at the first examination of candidates, the discontent of the parents of those rejected, the certainty of far greater pressure and discontent which must occur in future years, satisfied every reflecting mind that, however desirable, the scheme of giving a high classical education equal about to a college education to all the girls of a city whose parents would wish them to be thus educated at the expense of the city was just as impracticable as to give such a one to all the boys of it at the city's expense. Indeed, more so, because girls, not being drawn away from college by preparation for a profession or trade, would have nothing except their marriage to prevent their parents from availing of it. No funds of any city could endure the expense.

The next project was so to model the school as that, although professedly established for the benefit of *all*, it might be kept and maintained, at the expense of the city, for the benefit of the *few*. The School Committee were divided equally on the resulting questions. The subject was finally postponed by the casting vote of the chairman. As all agreed that, if the school was to be maintained according to its original conception, new and great appropriations were necessary, the chairman was directed to make a report on the whole subject to the City Council. The report indicated that in such case appropriations were indispensably necessary, but did not recommend them, because a majority of the committee were not favorable to the project. That report was printed and circulated throughout the city. A year has elapsed, and not an individual in either branch of the City Council has brought forward the question of its revival by moving the necessary appropriations.

No shield has ever before been protruded by the individual principally assailed as a defence against the calumnies which have been circulated on this subject. It has now been alluded to more



for the sake of other honorable men who have for a like cause been assailed by evil tongues and evil pens than for his own.

In all this there is nothing uncommon or unprecedented. The public officer who from a sense of public duty dares to cross strong interests in their way to gratification at the public expense always has had, and ever will have, meted to him the same measure. The beaten course is first to slander in order to intimidate, and, if that fail, then to slander in order to sacrifice. He who loves his office better than his duty will yield and be flattered as long as he is a tool. He who loves his duty better than his office will stand erect and take his fate.

All schools requiring high qualifications as the condition of admission are essentially schools for the benefit comparatively of a very few. The higher the qualification, the greater the exclusion. Those whose fortunes permit them to avail themselves of private instruction for their children during their early years, men highly educated themselves, who have leisure and ability to attend to the education of their own children, and thus raise them at the prescribed age to the required qualification, will chiefly enjoy the privilege. To the rest of the community, consisting of parents not possessing these advantages, admission to them is a lottery in which there is a hundred blanks to a prize. The scheme to reduce the school to an attendance of one year seems to be a needless multiplication of schools and of expense, as it is plainly far better that a year should be added to the continuance in the Common Schools, and their course of instruction proportionably elevated.

The great interest of society is identified with her Common Schools. These belong to the mass of the people. Let the people take care lest the funds which ought to be devoted exclusively to the improvement and elevation of these Common Schools, thus essentially theirs, be diverted to schools of high qualification. Under whatever pretence established, their necessary tendency is to draw away not only funds, but also interest and attention, from the Common Schools. *The sound principle upon this subject seems to be that the standard of public education should be raised to the greatest desirable and practicable height, but that it should be effected by raising the standard of the Common Schools.*

In respect of what has been done in support of public morals, when this administration first came into power, the police had no comparative effect. The city possessed no House of Correction, and the natural inmates of that establishment were in our streets,

on our "hills," or on our commons, disgusting the delicate, offending the good, and intimidating the fearful. There were parts of the city over which no honest man dared to pass in the night-time, so proud there and uncontrolled was the dominion of crime. The executive of the city was seriously advised not to meddle with those haunts, their reformation being a task altogether impracticable.

It was attempted. The success is known. Who at this day sees begging in our streets? I speak generally: a transient case may occur, but there is none systematic. At this day (I speak it confidently) there is no part of the city through which the most timid may not walk, by day or by night, without cause of fear of personal violence. What streets present more stillness in the night-time?

Where in a city of equal population are there fewer instances of those crimes to which all populous places are subject?

Doubtless much of this condition of things is owing to the orderly habits of our citizens, but much also is attributable to the vigilance which has made vice tremble in its haunts and fly to cities where the air is more congenial to it, which by pursuing the lawless vender of spirituous liquor, denying licenses to the worst of that class or revoking them as soon as found in improper hands, has checked crime in its first stages and introduced into these establishments a salutary fear. By the effect of this system, notwithstanding in these six years the population of the city has been increased at least *fifteen thousand*, the number of licensed houses has been diminished from 679 to 554.

Let it be remembered that this state of things has been effected without the addition of one man to the ancient arm of the police. The name of police officer has, indeed, been changed to City Marshal. The venerable old Charter number of *twenty-four* constables still continue, the entire array of city police. And *eighty* watchmen, of whom never more than *eighteen* are out at a time, constitute the whole nocturnal host of police militant to maintain the peace and vindicate the wrongs of upwards of *sixty thousand citizens*.

If it be asked why more have not been provided, I answer it has frequently been under consideration. But on a view of all circumstances, and experience having hitherto proved the present number enough, there seemed no occasion to increase it from any general theory of its want of proportion to the population, seeing that practically there seemed to be as many as were necessary.

The good which has been attained—and no man can deny it is great—has been effected by directing unremittingly the force of the executive power to the haunts of vice in its first stages and to the favorite resorts of crime in its last.

To diminish the number of licensed dram-shops and tippling-houses; to keep a vigilant eye over those which are licensed; to revoke without fear or favor the licenses of those who were found violating the law; to break up public dances in the brothels; to keep the light and terrors of the law directed upon the resorts of the lawless, thereby preventing any place becoming dangerous by their congregation, or they and their associates becoming insolent through sense of strength and numbers,—these have been the means; and these means faithfully applied are better than armies of constables and watchmen. They have been applied with as much fearlessness as though the executive office was not elective, without regarding the fact that the numerous class thus offended, their landlords, dependents, and coadjutors, had votes and voices in city elections. So far as these classes had any influence on a recent event,—and it must have been small,—the cause is not a matter of regret, but of pride.

Without pressing these topics further into detail and without stating how the condition of things was found at the coming in of this administration, because the faithful men who executed the ancient town government did as much as the form of the organization under which they acted permitted, I shall simply state in one view how the city affairs in respects not yet alluded to have been left.

Every interest of the city, so far as has come to the knowledge of the city government, has been considered, maintained, and as far as practicable arranged. All the real estate of the city surveyed and estimated, plans of it prepared, the whole analyzed and presented in one view for the benefit of those who come after. The difficulties of the voting lists laboriously investigated, and the sources of error ascertained and in a great degree remedied. The streets widened, the crooked straightened, the great avenues paved and enlarged, they and other public places ornamented. Heights levelled, declivities smoothed or diminished. The common sewers regulated and made more capacious. New streets of great width and utility in the centre of population obtained without cost to the city. Its markets made commodious. New public edifices in the old city and at South Boston erected, the old repaired and ornamented.



These things have been done, not indeed to the extent which might be desired, but to a degree as great, considering the time, as could reasonably be anticipated.

But, then, "the city debt," "the taxes," "we are on the eve of bankruptcy," "the citizens are oppressed by the weight of assessments produced by these burdens,"—such are the hollow sounds which come up from the halls of caucussing discontent!

The state of the city debt has recently been displayed by official authority, by which it appears that, after deducting funds in the hands of the committee for the reduction of the city debt and also the amount of bonds, well secured by mortgages payable to the city, the exact city debt amounts to \$637,256.66, concerning which subject I undertake to maintain two positions:—

1. It has not been and never can be a burden; that is, it has not been and never will be felt in the taxes.

2. So far from city bankruptcy, the state of its resources is one of enviable prosperity.

It may be stated with sufficient accuracy that the present city debt is entirely the result of operations which obtained for the city the New Faneuil Hall Market, the City Wharf, and land north of the block of stores on North Market Street; and of those which gave it, free of encumbrance, the lands west of Charles and Pleasant Streets.

Now this property *thus newly acquired* by these operations, for which the city debt was incurred, may be exchanged, no intelligent man can doubt, at any hour in the market for an amount equal to the entire city debt.

The property *thus acquired* now in actual unencumbered or undisputed possession of the city consists:—

1. Of the New Market and its site, estimated by its annual incomes (\$26,000), which are, in their nature, permanent, and must increase rather than diminish, at . . . . .	\$500,000
2. City Wharf, estimated by some at \$100,000,—on this occasion it is put down at . . . . .	\$75,000
3. 8,528 feet of land on both sides of the Mill Creek, and the new streets now completing in that vicinity,—on this occasion estimated at, as an unquestionable price, although its real value probably greatly exceeds, . . . . .	\$12,000
4. Twenty-eight acres and a half of land west of Charles and Pleasant Streets, exceeding 1,200,000 square feet, estimated only at 10 cents, which (how far it is exceeded by the fact my fellow-citizens understand) is set down at . . . . .	\$120,000
	<hr/> \$707,000

Consisting of a real estate of an unquestionable value, exceeding *seven hundred thousand dollars*, as an offset for a debt of *six hundred and thirty seven thousand dollars*.

It may confidently be said that no capitalist of intelligence and resources equal to the purchase would hesitate an hour to contract, on condition of a transfer of that property, to assume the whole city debt. Should I say he would give a hundred thousand dollars as a *bonus* for the bargain, I should probably come nearer the truth. Am I not justified, then, in my position that the marketable value of the real estate acquired and left to the city by that administration greatly exceeds the amount of debt it has left? The scales are not simply even: they greatly preponderate in favor of the value of the property above the debt. It is no answer to this to say that the property *thus newly acquired* is of a nature or value so important to the city that it ought never to be disposed of. This is probably true, at least of a very great part of it. But what of this? Does not the fact show that, greatly as the marketable value of the property exceeds the debt, the value of it, in its interest or importance to the city, greatly exceeds even that marketable value? After this have I not a right to assert, according to the usual and justifiable forms of expression under circumstances of this kind, that, *so far as respects the operations of the administration now passing away, they have left the city encumbered with NO DEBT*, because they have left it possessed of a newly acquired real property far greater in marketable value than the whole debt it has incurred?

Again, it has not only done this, but, when this subject is considered with reference to annual income received and annual interest to be paid, it will be found that this administration leaves the city with a property in real estate and bonds and mortgages the income and interest of which amounts to *fifty-two thousand dollars*, while the annual interest of the debt which it leaves is only *forty-seven thousand dollars*.

If, then, the annual income of the property left be now, and ever must be, far greater than the annual interest of the debt incurred, if the newly acquired real estate is, and always must be, far greater in marketable value than the whole amount of that debt, has not this administration a right to say that, *so far as respects its financial operations, it has left the city encumbered with NO BURDEN AND NO DEBT*?

If there is no debt, then there is no bankruptcy. Whatever estate the city now has over and above that which is above

specified is so much clear and unencumbered property, to be used or improved for its advancement or relief, in all future times and emergencies, according to the wisdom and fidelity of succeeding administrations. Unless, indeed, that wisdom direct, as it probably will, that the property above specified obtained for the city by this administration shall be kept as the best possible investment of city capital, and the proceeds of the other lands applied to the discharge of the debt incurred for the purchase of the property thus acquired.

Now what is that clear, unencumbered city property which remains after deducting that *thus newly acquired*? It consists of nothing less, as appears by the official report of the committee on public lands, than upwards of *five million three hundred thousand* feet of land on the neck and in different parts of the city,—*lands* capable of being sold without any possible objection, lands belonging to the House of Industry amounting to sixty acres and a township of land in the State of Maine being neither of them included in this estimate.

Without taking into consideration, then, the encouragement given to our mechanic interests, to the influx of capital and population which have been necessarily the effect of the activity of capital induced by the measures of the city government, and confining myself to the single consideration of the amount and unencumbered state of the real property of the city, am I not justified in the assertion that IT IS, IN RESPECT OF ITS FINANCIAL RESOURCES, ONE OF ENVIABLE PROSPERITY?

But “the taxes,” “the taxes,” are heavy beyond all precedent. In answer to which I state that *the taxes have not increased in a ratio equal to the actual increase of property and population*. The assessors’ books will show that the ratio of taxation has been *less*, in every year of the seven years in which the city government has had existence, than was the ratio of any year in the next preceding seven years of the town government, one year only excepted, and even in this it was less than in one of those next preceding seven years above mentioned. Comparing the average of the ratios of these two periods of seven years together, it will be found that, while the average of the ratios of seven years of the town government was *eight dollars and fifteen cents*, the average of the ratios of the seven years of the city government has been only *seven dollars and twenty-seven cents*.

I might here close. But there have been objections made publicly to this executive which, although apparently of a per-



sonal nature, are, in fact, objections to the principles on which he has conducted his office. Now, in the particular relation in which that executive stood to his office, it was his duty well to consider those principles, since they might become precedents and give a character and tone to succeeding administrations. He has uniformly acted under a sense of this relation and of the obligations resulting from it, and intentionally has done nothing or omitted nothing without contemplating it. On this account it may be useful to state those objections and answer them. And first it has been said: "The mayor assumes too much upon himself. He places himself at the head of all committees. He prepares all reports. He permits nothing to be done but by his agency. He does not sit, solemn and dignified, in his chair, and leave general superintendence to others, but he is everywhere and about everything,—in the street, at the docks, among the common sewers, no place but what is vexed by his presence."

In reply to this objection I lay my hand first on the City Charter, which is in these words: "It shall be the duty of the mayor to be vigilant and active at all times in causing the laws for the government of said city to be duly executed and put in force, to inspect the conduct of all subordinate officers in the government thereof, and, as far as in his power, to cause all negligence, carelessness, and positive violations of duty to be duly prosecuted and punished. It shall be his duty from time to time to communicate to both branches of the City Council all such information and recommend all such measures as may tend to the improvement of the finances, the police, health, cleanliness, comfort, and ornament of the city."

Now let it be remembered that to the performance of these duties he was sworn, and that he is willing to admit that he considers an oath taken before God as a serious affair, and that, having taken an oath to do such services, he is not of a spirit which can go to sleep or to rest after shifting the performance of them upon others.

As to his "seeing to everything," who has a better right than he who, at least by popular opinion, if not by the City Charter, is *made responsible for everything*?

Besides, why is it not as true in affairs of police as of agriculture that "the eye of the master does more work than both his hands"?

If those who made these objections intended "by doing everything" that he has been obstinate, wilful, or overbearing in respect of those with whom he has been associated, I cheerfully ap-

peal to you, gentlemen, how willingly on all occasions he has yielded his opinion to yours and how readily he has submitted whatever he has written to your corrections. If he took upon himself generally the character of draughtsman of reports, it was because your labors were gratuitous, and for his a salary was received. It was because he deemed it but just that the "hireling" should bear the heat and burden both of the day and the labor.

Great assiduity and labor did appear to him essential requisites to the well performance of duty in that office. He could not persuade himself that the intelligent and industrious community which possess this metropolis could ever be satisfied in that station with an indolent, selfish, or timid temper, or with any one possessed of a vulgar or criminal ambition.

I cannot refrain on the present occasion from expressing the happiness with which I now yield this place to a gentleman possessing so many eminent qualifications, whose talents will enable him to appreciate so readily the actual state of things, who will be so capable of correcting what has been amiss, changing what has been wrong, and of maintaining what has been right. May he be happy and long enjoy the honors and the confidence his fellow-citizens have bestowed!

And now, gentlemen, standing as I do in this relation for the last time in your presence and that of my fellow-citizens, about to surrender forever a station full of difficulty, of labor and temptation, in which I have been called to very arduous duties affecting the rights, property, and at times the liberty of others, concerning which the perfect line of rectitude, though desired, was not always to be clearly discerned, in which great interests have been placed within my control, under circumstances in which it would have been easy to advance private ends and sinister projects, under these circumstances I inquire,—as I have a right to inquire, for, in the course of the recent contest, insinuations have been cast against my integrity in this long management of your affairs,—whatever errors have been committed (and, doubtless, there have been many), have you found in me anything selfish, anything personal, anything mercenary?

In the simple language of an ancient seer, I say: "Behold, here I am. Witness against me. Whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? At whose hands have I received any bribe?"

Six years ago, when I had the honor first to address the City Council, in anticipation of the event which has now occurred the following expressions were used: "In administering the police,

in executing the laws, in protecting the rights and promoting the prosperity of the city, its first officer will be necessarily beset and assailed by individual interests, by rival projects, by personal influences, by party passions. The more firm and inflexible he is in maintaining the rights and in pursuing the interests of the city, the greater is the probability of his becoming obnoxious to the censure of all whom he causes to be prosecuted or punished, of all whose passions he thwarts, of all whose interests he opposes."

The day and the event have come. I retire—as in that first address I told my fellow-citizens, "if, in conformity with the experience of other republics, faithful exertion should be followed by loss of favor and confidence," I should retire—"rejoicing, not, indeed, with a public and patriotic, but with a private and individual joy; for I shall retire with a consciousness weighed against which all *human suffrages* are but as the light dust of the balance."

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If John Winthrop be the highest type of the men who shaped New England, we can find no better one of those whom New England has shaped than Josiah Quincy. It is a figure that we can contemplate with more than satisfaction, a figure of admirable example in a democracy, as that of a model citizen. His courage and high-mindedness were personal to him. Let us believe that his integrity, his industry, his love of letters, his devotion to duty, go in some sort to the credit of the society which gave him birth and formed his character. In one respect he is especially interesting to us, as belonging to a class of men of whom he was the last representative, and whose like we shall never see again. Born and bred in an age of greater social distinctions than ours, he was an aristocrat in a sense that is good even in a republic. He had the sense of a certain personal dignity *inherent* in him, and which could not be alienated by any whim of the popular will. . . . It is time that fit honor should be paid to him who shows a genius for public usefulness, for the achievement of character, who shapes his life to a certain classic proportion, and comes off conqueror on those inward fields where something more than talent is demanded for victory. The memory of such men should be cherished as the most precious inheritance which one generation can bequeath to the next. However it might be with popular favor, public interest followed Mr. Quincy unwaveringly for seventy years, and it was because he had never forfeited his own. In this, it appears to me, lies the lesson of his life and his claim upon our grateful recollection. It is this which makes him an example, while the careers of so many of our prominent men are only useful for warning. As regards history, his greatness was narrowly provincial; but, if the measure of deeds be the spirit in which they are done, that fidelity to instant duty which, according to Herbert, makes an action fine, then his length of years should be very precious to us for its lesson.—*Lowell*.



"In Boston I was born, in Boston I have lived, and from Boston I choose to be buried." These were the words of Josiah Quincy a few weeks before his death, when the time for the annual removal to the country came. He was willing to go to Quincy, but, anticipating his death, he wished for a promise that his funeral should be in Boston; and at Arlington Street Church his funeral was held, and his body was buried at Mount Auburn. It was on July 1, 1864, that he died, in his ninety-third year. He was born February 4, 1772, in the part of Washington Street then known as Marlborough Street, the sixth house from Milk Street, not far from the old Province House on the opposite side of the street. Few men in Boston's history have throughout life been more closely identified with her interests than "the Great Mayor." His father was Josiah Quincy, the distinguished patriot, who died on the eve of the Revolution. His mother was Abigail Phillips, of the well-known Andover family which founded Phillips Academy, Andover; and at that academy he was fitted for college. He was graduated at Harvard in 1790, at the head of his class, studied law with William Tudor, and was admitted to the bar in 1793. On July 4, 1798, he delivered the annual oration in the Old South Meeting-house, gaining by it such a reputation that the Federalists made him their candidate for Congress in 1800. He was defeated, but in 1804 was elected, and served eight years. For the next ten years he was most of the time a member of the Massachusetts legislature, one year serving as speaker of the House. From 1823 to 1829 he was mayor of Boston, succeeding the first mayor, John Phillips, who served only one year. He brought to the office such conspicuous ability, ambition, and energy, and effected such important improvements, that his name has always remained most illustrious in the list of Boston's mayors. "Everything was overhauled,—the police, the prisons, the schools, the streets, the fire department,—and the great market was built near Faneuil Hall," the market which now bears his name. The address printed in the present leaflet is his survey of his service at its conclusion. An excellent account of his administration may be found in the chapter on "Boston under the Mayors," by James M. Bugbee, in the Memorial History of Boston, vol. iii. More than half of his own valuable Municipal History of Boston, published in 1852, is devoted to his own administration as mayor. Immediately after leaving the mayoralty, in 1829, he was chosen president of Harvard University, and held that position until 1845, during his presidency writing his important History of Harvard University. He also wrote a History of the Boston Athenæum (1851), a Memoir of John Quincy Adams (1858), and a Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr., his father. His speeches delivered in Congress were edited by his son, Edmund Quincy. He continued to the last to take the deepest interest in politics and public affairs, and was a warm admirer of President Lincoln. His home from 1857 was on Park Street facing the Common. There is a bronze statue of Quincy, by Thomas Ball, in front of the City Hall, and a fine marble statue by Story in the Memorial Hall at Cambridge. See the noteworthy tributes to Quincy by Robert C. Winthrop, George E. Ellis, Edward Everett, and Richard H. Dana, at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, July 14, 1864, published in the Proceedings. There is an admirable Life of Quincy, by his son, Edmund Quincy. The publication of this biography in 1867 was the occasion of Lowell's well-known essay on Quincy, entitled "A Great Public Character," from which a brief passage is given above. Motley, writing three years before, at the time of Quincy's death, spoke of him in these words: "A scholar, a gentleman, descended of scholars and gentlemen, a patriot and the son of a patriot well known to all who know America, an upright magistrate, an eloquent senator, a fearless champion of the right, a man of the world, a man of letters, and a sage, with a noble presence from youth upwards, which even in extreme old age did not lose its majesty,—what better type could those of us who are proud of America and who believe in America, possibly imagine?"

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# The Old South Meeting House.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S ADDRESS IN THE OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE, JUNE 14, 1876.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*—Why are we here to-day? Why should this relic, a hundred years old, stir your pulses to-day so keenly? We sometimes find a community or an individual with their hearts set on some old roof or great scene; and, as we look on, it seems to us an exaggerated feeling, a fond conceit, an unfounded attachment, too emphatic value set on some ancient thing or spot which memory endears to them.

But we have a right to-day—this year we have a right beyond all question, and with no possibility of exaggerating the importance of the hour—to ask the world itself to pause when this nation completes the first hundred years of its life, because these forty millions of people have at last achieved what no race, no nation, no age, hitherto has succeeded in doing. We have founded a republic on the unlimited suffrage of the millions. We have actually worked out the problem that man, as God created him, may be trusted with self-government. We have shown the world that a church without a bishop and a state without a king is an actual, real, every-day possibility. Look back over the history of the race: where will you find a chapter that precedes us in that achievement? Greece had her republics, but they were the republics of one freeman and ten slaves; and the battle of Marathon was fought by slaves unchained from the door-posts of their masters' houses. Italy had her republics: they were the republics of wealth and skill and family, limited and aristocratic. She had not risen to a sublime faith in man. Holland had her republic, the republic of guilds and landholders, trusting the helm of State

to property and education. And all these, which at their best held but a million or two within their narrow limits, have gone down in the ocean of time.

A hundred years ago our fathers announced this sublime and, as it seemed then, foolhardy declaration,—that God intended all men to be free and equal: all men, without restriction, without qualification, without limit. A hundred years have rolled away since that venturous declaration; and to-day, with a territory that joins ocean to ocean, with forty millions of people, with two wars behind her, with the sublime achievement of having grappled with the fearful disease that threatened her central life and broken four millions of fetters, the great Republic, stronger than ever, launches into the second century of her existence. The history of the world has no such chapter, in its breadth, its depth, its significance, or its bearing on future history.

Well may we claim that this centennial year is the baptism of the human race into a new hope for humanity. Are we not entitled, then, coming with the sheaves of such a harvest in our hands, to say to the world, “Behold the blessing of God on our right faith in the human race?” Well, gentlemen, if that is sober prose, without one tittle of exaggeration, without one fond conceit borrowed from our kindred with the actors or from our birth in these streets,—if that is the sober record,—with how much pride, with what a thrill, with what tender and loyal reverence, may we not hunt up and cherish, and guard from change or desecration, the spot where this marvellous enterprise began, the roof under which its first councils were held, where the air still trembles and burns with Otis and Sam Adams?

Except the Holy City, is there any more memorable or sacred place on the face of the earth than the cradle of such a change? Athens has her Acropolis, but the Greek can point to no such immediate and distinct results. Her influence passes into the web and woof of history mixed with a score of other elements, and it needs a keen eye to follow it. London has her Palace and Tower, and her St. Stephen’s Chapel; but the human race owes her no such memories. France has spots marked by the sublimest devotion; but the pilgrimage and the Mecca of the man who believes and hopes for the human race is not to Paris. It is to the seaboard cities of the great Republic. And when the flag was assailed, when the merchant waked up from his gain, the scholar from his studies, and the regiments marched one by one through the streets, which were the pavements that thrilled under their



footsteps? What walls did they salute as the regimental flags floated by to Gettysburg and Antietam? These! Our boys carried down to the battlefields the memory of State Street and Faneuil Hall and the Old South Church.

We had a signal prominence in those early days. It was not our merit; it was an accident perhaps. But it was a great accident in our favor that the British Parliament chose Boston as the first and prominent object of its wrath. It was on the men of Boston that Lord North visited his revenge. It was our port that was to be shut, and its commerce annihilated. It was Sam Adams and John Hancock who enjoy the everlasting reward of being the only names excepted from the royal proclamation of forgiveness.

It was only an accident; but it was an accident which, in the stirring history of the most momentous change the world has seen, placed Boston in the van. Naturally, therefore, in our streets and neighborhood came the earliest collision between England and the colonies. Here Sam Adams, the ablest and ripest statesman God gave to the epoch, forecast those measures which welded thirteen colonies into one thunderbolt, and launched it at George III. Here Otis magnetized every boy into a desperate rebel. Here the fit successors of Knox and Hugh Peters consecrated their pulpits to the defence of that doctrine of the freedom and sacredness of man which the State borrowed so directly from the Christian Church. The towers of the North Church rallied the farmers to the Lexington and Concord fights; and these old walls echoed the people's shout, when Adams brought them word that Governor Hutchinson surrendered and withdrew the red-coats. Linger here still are the echoes of those clashing sabres and jingling spurs that dreamed Warren could be awed to silence. Otis's blood immortalizes State Street, just below where Attucks fell (our first martyr), and just above where zealous patriots made a teapot of the harbor.

It was a petty town, of some twenty thousand inhabitants; but "the rays of royal indignation collected upon it served only to illuminate, and could not consume." Almost every one of its houses had a legend. Every public building hid what was treasonable debate, or bore bullet-marks or bloodshed,—evidence of royal displeasure. It takes a stout heart to step out of a crowd and risk the chances of support when failure is death. The strongest, proudest, most obstinate race and kingdom on one side; a petty town the assailant,—its weapons, ideas; its trust,

God and the right; its old-fashioned men patiently arguing with cannon and regiments; blood the seal of the debate, and every stone and wall and roof and doorway witness forever of the angry tyrant and sturdy victim.

Now, gentlemen, man is not a mere animal, to eat, and sleep, and gain, and lay up, and enjoy, and pass away to his fathers. If we had been only that; if the North had been a pedler race, as the South supposed, not willing to risk sixpence for an idea,—no Democratic lawyers in yonder Court Street would have shut up their doors, put their keys in their pockets, and asked of Governor Andrew a commission when that piece of bunting was fired upon near Fort Sumter! It was only six feet square of cotton; it was only a few stars and stripes; it was only an insult offered to the sentiment of twenty millions of people. But it made Democrats and Republicans forget their differences, and a million of men crowd down to the Gulf. It was only a sentiment. But what does it feed on? Ascend one of those lofty buildings above Chicago, and grow weary in counting her crowd of masts and her miles of warehouses; and, when you have done it, you remember that the sagacity and the thrift of three hundred thousand men have created that great centre of industry, and there comes to your mind, perhaps sooner than anything else, the old lullaby,—

“How doth the little busy bee  
Improve each shining hour,  
And gather honey all the day  
From every opening flower!”

It is industry; it is thrift; it is comfort; it is wealth. But on Bunker Hill let somebody point out to you the church-tower whose lantern told Paul Revere that Middlesex was to be invaded. Search till your eye rests on this tiny spire which trembled once when the mock Indian whoop bade England defiance. There is the elm where Washington first drew his sword. Here Winter Hill, whose cannon-ball struck Brattle Street Church. At your feet the sod is greener for the blood of Warren, which settled it forever that no more laws were to be made for us in London. The thrill you feel is that *sentiment* which, in 1862, made twenty million men, who had wrangled for forty years, close up their angry ranks and carry that insulted bunting to the Gulf, treading down dissensions and prejudices harder to conquer than Confederate cannon. We cannot afford to close any school which teaches such lessons.

Go ask the Londoner, crowded into small space, what number of pounds laid down on a square foot, what necessities of business, would induce him to pull down the Tower and build a counting-house on its site! Go ask Paris what they will take from some business corporation for the spot where Mirabeau and Danton, or, later down, Lamartine saved the great flag of the tricolor from being drenched in the blood of their fellow-citizens! What makes Boston a history? Not so many men, not so much commerce. It is ideas. You might as well plough it with salt, and remove bodily into the more healthy elevation of Brookline or Dorchester, but for State Street, Faneuil Hall, and the Old South.

What does *Boston* mean? Since 1630, the living fibre running through history which owns that name means jealousy of power, unfettered speech, keen sense of justice, readiness to champion any good cause. That is the *Boston* Laud suspected, North hated, and the negro loved. If you destroy the scenes which perpetuate *that* Boston, then rebaptize her Cottonville or Shoetown. Don't belittle these memories; they lie long hid, but only to grow stronger. You mobbed John Brown meetings in 1860, and seemed to forget him in 1861; but the boys in blue, led by that very mob, wearing epaulets, marched from State Street to the Gulf, because "John Brown's soul was marching on." That and the flag—only two memories, two *sentiments*—led the ranks.

My friend has told you that the church has removed its altar; we submit. God is not worshipped in temples builded with men's hands; and when their tower lifted itself in proud beauty to the heavens, and varied stone and rich woods furnished a new shelter for the descendants of Eckley, and Prince, and Sewall and the others that worshipped here, the consecration that the Puritans gave these walls—to Christ and the Church—was annulled.

But these walls received as real a consecration when Adams and Otis dedicated them to liberty. We do not come here because there went hence to heaven the prayers of Sewall and Prince and the early saints of the colony. We come to save walls that heard and stirred the eloquence of Quincy,—that keen blade which so soon wore out the scabbard,—determined, "under God, that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit WE WILL DIE FREEMEN!" These arches will speak to us, as long as they stand, of the sublime and sturdy religious enthusiasm of Adams; of Otis's passionate eloquence and single-hearted devotion; of Warren in his young genius and enthusiasm; of a plain, unaffected, but high-souled people who ventured all



for a principle, and to transmit to us, unimpaired, the free lips and self-government which they inherited. Above and around us unseen hands have written, "This is the cradle of Civil Liberty, child of earnest religious faith." I will not say it is a nobler consecration; I will not say that it is a better use. I only say we come here to save what our fathers consecrated to the memories of the most successful struggle the race has ever made for the liberties of man. You spend half a million for a school-house. What school so eloquent to educate citizens as these walls? Napoleon turned his Simplon road aside to save a tree Caesar had once mentioned. Won't you turn a street or spare a quarter of an acre to remind boys what sort of men their fathers were? Think twice before you touch these walls. We are only the world's trustees. The Old South no more belongs to us than Luther's, or Hampden's, or Brutus's name does to Germany, England, or Rome. Each and all are held in trust as torchlight guides and inspiration for any man struggling for justice, and ready to die for the truth.

I went to Chicago more than twenty years ago; and they showed me the log house, thirty feet square and twenty feet high, in which the first officer of the United States, the first white man, lived, where now are half a million of human beings. There it nestled amid spacious inns, costly warehouses, and luxurious homes. I said to them, "Why not cover it with plate glass, and let it stand there forever, the cradle of the great city of the lakes?" But I could not wake any sentiment in that quarter million of traders; and the ancestral cabin which, to an anointed eye, measured the vast space between that 1816 and 1856, with its wealth and splendor, passed away. Then I came back here. That same week I found at my door a slave-holder from Arkansas. Singularly enough, in those bitter years, he trusted himself to me as a guide through the historic scenes of Boston. But it shows you how true it is that a prophet has no honor in his own household; how his reputation grows the farther off you get! Well, the first place I took him to was the house of John Hancock. We ascended those steps. I had learned from his talk, that on that frontier where he was born, he had never seen a building older than twenty-five years. As we stood under that balcony, which some of you may remember, he turned to me and said, "Is it actually true that the man who signed the Declaration of Independence stood on this flagstone, and lifted that latch?" I said, "Yes, sir; and above you his body lay in state for some six or eight days." The

man sat down on the flagstone, wholly unnerved, his face pale with emotion. Said he, "You must excuse me; but I never felt as I feel to-day." That was Boston revealing to an every-day life the patriotism and nobleness smothered by petty cares. He came to our streets to wake that throb in his nature; he grew a better man and a more chivalrous citizen when that thrill answered to the memory of the first signer of the Declaration.

Gentlemen, these walls are the college for such training. The saving of this landmark is the best monument you can erect to the men of the Revolution. You spend forty thousand dollars here, and twenty thousand dollars there, to put up a statue of some old hero; you want your son to gaze on the nearest approach to the features of those

"dead, but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule  
Our spirits from their urns."

But what is a statue of Cicero compared to standing where your voice echoes from pillar and wall that actually heard his philippics! How much better than a picture of John Brown is the sight of that Blue Ridge which filled his eye, when, riding to the scaffold, he said calmly to his jailer, "This is a beautiful country: I never noticed it before." Destroy every portrait of Luther, if you must, but save that terrible chamber where he fought with the Devil, and translated the Bible. Scholars have grown old and blind striving to put their hands on the very spot where bold men spoke or brave men died: shall we tear in pieces the roof that actually trembled to the words which made us a nation? It is impossible not to believe, if the spirits above us are permitted to know what passes in this terrestrial sphere, that Adams and Warren and Otis are to-day bending over us, asking that the scene of their immortal labors shall not be desecrated or blotted from the sight of men.

Consecrate it again, in the worship and memory of a people! Consecrate it, in order that, if another rebellion breaks out against the flag; if our young men need once more to have their hearts quickened to the sublime significance of the Republic which protects them; if once more we must rally flags and marshal ranks for the protection of liberty,—the young men shall be able to look up to Faneuil Hall and the Old State House and these walls, as a quickening inspiration, before they leave these streets to go down and show themselves worthy of their fathers. Let these walls stand, if only to remind us that, in those days, Adams and Otis, advocates of the newest and extremest liberty, found their sturdiest

allies in the pulpit; that our Revolution was so much a crusade that the Church led the van.

Summon it again, ye venerable walls, to its true place in the world's toil for good! Give us Mayhews and Coopers again; and let the children of the Pilgrims show that religious conviction, veneration for "the great of old," and a stern purpose that our flag shall everywhere and always mean justice are a threefold cord holding this nation together, never to be broken. We have a great future before us,—how grand, human forecast cannot measure,—yes, a great future endangered by many and grave perils. Our way out of these, faith believes in, but mortal eye cannot see. It is wisdom to summon every ally, to save every possible help. Educate the people to noble purpose. Lift them to the level of the highest motive. Enforce by every possible appeal the influence of the finest elements of our nature. Let the great ideas—self-respect, freedom, justice, self-sacrifice—help each man to tread the body under his feet. This worship of great memories, noble deeds, sacred places,—the poetry of history,—is one of the keenest ripeners of such elements. Seize greedily on every chance to save and emphasize these.

Give me a people freshly and tenderly alive to such influences, and I will laugh at money-rings or demagogues armed with sensual temptations. Men marvelled at the uprising which hurled slavery to the dust. It was young men who dreamed dreams over patriot graves,—enthusiasts wrapped in memories! Marble, gold, and granite are not *real*: the only actual reality is an idea.

Gentlemen, I remember,—Mr. Chairman, you will remember, also,—that some six months ago the mayor and aldermen debated how they should use some eighteen or twenty thousand dollars left them by Jonathan Phillips to ornament the streets of Boston; and then the city government decided—and decided very properly—that they could do no better with that money than place before the people a statue of the great mayor, Josiah Quincy, to whom this city owes so much. It was a very worthy vote under those circumstances; but, if the great mayor were living to-day, he would be here with the Massachusetts—yes, he would be here, Mr. Chairman, with the Massachusetts Historical Society in his right hand, and the Mechanic Association in the other, and he would protest against the use of a dollar of that money for his personal honor until it had been first used to save this immortal legacy. I wish that I had a voice in that aldermanic corps: I would propose, with no discredit to the great mayor,—let no one



tear a leaf from his well-earned laurels! but it was the mechanics of Boston that threw tea into the dock; it was the mechanics of Boston that held up the hands of Sam Adams; it was the mechanics of Boston, Paul Revere one of them, that made the Green Dragon immortal,—and I would take that eighteen thousand dollars and add fifty thousand more, and let the city preserve this building as a Mechanics' Exchange for all time. The merchants have their gilded room, fit gathering place for consultations; but the men that carried us through the Revolution,—caulkers! why, some men think we borrowed *caucus* from their name!—the men that carried us through the Revolution were the mechanics of Boston. Where do they gather to-day? On the sidewalks and pavements of Court Street, in the open air! We owe them a debt, in memory of what this grand movement, in its cradle, owed to them. I would ally the Green Dragon Tavern and the Sons of Liberty with the Old South, the grandsons and great-grandsons and representatives of the men who made the bulk of that meeting before which Hutchinson quailed and Colonel Dalrymple put on his hat and left the Council Chamber.

It was the message of the mechanics of Boston that Sam Adams carried to the governor and to Congress. They sent him to Salem and Philadelphia; they lifted and held him up till even purblind George III. could distinguish his ablest opposer, and learned to hate with discrimination.

Shelter them under this roof; consecrate it in its original form to a grand public use for the common run of the people,—the bone and muscle. It will be the normal school of politics. It will be the best civil service reform agency that the Republican party can adopt and use to-day.

The influence of these old walls will prevent men, if anything can, from becoming the tools of corruption or tyranny. "Recall every day one good thought, read one fine line," says the German Shakespeare. Yes: let every man's daily walk catch one ray of golden light, and his pulse throb once each day nobly, as he passes these walls! No gold, no greed, can canker the heart of such a people. Once in their hands, neither need, greed, nor the clamor for wider streets, will ever desecrate what Adams and Warren and Otis made sacred to the liberties of man!

“HOW THE OLD SOUTH HAS SAVED US.”

*Outline of the Old South history, from a little pamphlet with the above title by William Everett, published in 1876.*

The ground where the Old South stands—the *old meeting-house*, first built there, and the *present meeting-house*—have been the scene of some of the greatest crises, guided by some of the greatest men, in our history. We want to keep on this ground, where such things happened, this building, in which such men worked. Here was the garden originally granted to John Winthrop, the great governor; and here he died, 26 March, 1649.

Here, after Winthrop's death, lived Rev. John Norton, chosen by John Cotton, on his death-bed, as his successor, and called by Cotton Mather “the chief of our burning and shining lights.” Here he died, 6 April, 1663.

Here in John Norton's household was bred Increase Mather, to whom New England and Harvard College owe so much.

Here was built, in 1669, the first house of worship of the Third, or Old South, Church, which withdrew from the First Church, to provide a more liberal entrance into the Church, and consequently a wider civil franchise. This ground was given them by Madam Mary Norton.

Here Sir Edmund Andros forcibly caused the Episcopal form of worship to be celebrated.

Here in the *Old House*, in 1696, Judge Sewall stood up in his pew, while his confession of contrition was read for his share in the witchcraft delusion of 1692.

In 1691 Josiah Franklin was allowed to build in the neighborhood, and on January 17, 1706, here in the old Meeting-house, Benjamin Franklin was baptized.

Here, in the same year, a town meeting was held to consult on fortifying the harbor against an expected French invasion.

In March, 1729, the old cedar meeting-house, which had stood for two generations, was pulled down; a new one of brick was begun forthwith; and here, on the 26th of April, 1730, was dedicated this meeting-house, the existing Old South. It was built according to the best taste of the time, and forcibly recalls Sir Christopher Wren's churches. The inside has undergone repairs and renovations, as have the contemporary College Halls at Cambridge, and any buildings of that age that have received equally rough usage. These repairs have always strictly preserved its character. . .

In this building, in October, 1746, at the rumor of the coming of D'Anville's fleet, Rev. Thomas Prince, the pastor, and a historical scholar of the first eminence, prayed the Almighty's help:—

“And even as I prayed  
The answering tempest came;  
It came with a mighty power,  
Shaking the windows and walls,  
And tolling the bell in the tower  
As it tolls at funerals.  
The fleet it overtook,

“And the broad-sails in the van  
Like the tents of Cushan shook  
Or the curtains of Midian.  
Down on the reeling decks  
Crashed the o'erwhelming seas,  
Oh, never were there wrecks  
So terrible as these.”

*Longfellow.*

When the colonies came into collision with Great Britain, and Faneuil Hall proved repeatedly too small for the town meetings of the patriots, they were adjourned here, and an "Old South meeting" became famous to Chatham and Burke.

In this house, on June 14, 1768, James Otis being moderator, a meeting was held to compel Governor Bernard to remove from the harbor a war vessel stationed to enforce the odious impressment and customs laws.

In this house, in March, 1770, after the Boston Massacre, an overflowing town meeting waited till night, while Samuel Adams went back and forward to the State House, till Hutchinson yielded and withdrew the regiments.

In this house, on November 29, 1773, a meeting of five thousand citizens resolved that the Tea should not be landed; and in this house, on December 16, 1773, a meeting of seven thousand citizens sat till after candle light listening to Josiah Quincy, Jr., and Samuel Adams, while messenger after messenger went to get redress of Hutchinson, at Milton. He refused; and at the doors of this house the war-whoop was raised, the citizens disguised as savages led the way to the tea ships, and the tea was destroyed.

Here, June 27, 1774, the Tories attempted to capture a town meeting in the interests of Gage and the Boston Port bill, censure the Committee of Correspondence, and nip the Continental Congress in the bud; and it sat for two days, ending in the triumph of the patriots and the sustaining of the Committee.

Here were delivered the series of orations from 1771 to 1775 commemorative of the Boston Massacre, by Lowell, Warren, Church, Hancock, and for the second time by Joseph Warren, three months before he was killed at Bunker Hill. He was introduced through a window in the rear of the pulpit, the aisles and steps of the pulpit being filled with British soldiers and officers.

Here, in 1775, by order of General Burgoyne, a riding school for British troops was established, pews and pulpit being torn away and broken up; and, when Washington made his triumphal entry into Boston in March, 1776, he paused, and, entering this building, looked down from the eastern gallery on the scene of desolation.

Here, finally, for a long number of years has been preached the annual election sermon before the governor and legislature of Massachusetts.

These walls, on this spot, with all these memories of these events and these men, we mean to save.

What is it that makes Boston? Do your warehouses make Boston? Do your stores make Boston? Do your miles of wharfage make Boston? Do the white sails of your many ships make Boston? Are these the things that make Boston, and are chiefly valuable to it? No. These warehouses, these ships, these mansions, these things of iron and wood and stone are only the body of Boston, are only the iron nerves along which her interior, unseen, vital self communicates her will, only the flesh in which she is living. But Boston is that unseen something, that immortal, sublime, invisible spirit, that is not in this building or that building, but which buildings suggest and advertise to the public. And here in this building there is value beyond any material valuation, because here Boston has her unseen, invisible, loftiest self suggested and expressed to the public. Gentlemen of Boston, can you afford to let that which is so sweet, that which is so sacred, that



which is so sublime a power in its suggestiveness, pass away? If in addition to the loss of the house where Benjamin Franklin was born, the old Hancock residence, and the Brattle Street Church, you shall add the Old State House, which has already been desecrated and half its sanctity destroyed, the Old South, and Fanueil Hall, then what have you, Bostonians, left in any sense different from any city that has sprung up within the last twenty years? Take away these expressions of the soul, of the life of Boston, and what, I ask, have you left beyond any other city on the continent? Your graves are no longer sacred, for you have ploughed them up and sowed them with wheat. When these things, when the soul, as it were, of Boston has been taken out of her body, what has Boston left, and what splendor shall ever shine in the light of her countenance? Many of you know I do not feign what I say in speaking in public, and I say that I have been more profoundly stirred by the thought of the Old South passing away than by any other thought that has come to me in my public life.—*Rev. W. H. H. Murray, at the meeting in the Old South, June 14, 1876.*

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If I might suggest the arrangement of the interior, the alcoves which are formed by the pillars of the first gallery should be devoted each to one of three great men. I should be glad to see so placed the statue of Samuel Adams, to whom we owe the independence of America; of Hancock, whose name stands first on the Declaration of Independence,—each surrounded by the memorials of his life and trials. Above the two should be the declaration which exempted them only from pardon, while all other men might bend the knee. I would place it there that boys and girls might see how the disgrace of one age is the laurel of another. Beneath the window where Warren entered to deliver his oration to a crowd of enemies I wish Warren's statue might stand. In their fit places I should expect to see James Otis—the flame of fire—and John Adams, who gave him that designation. I should wish fit memorial of Ward, who was willing to stand second to Washington, who so forgot himself in that great renunciation that he is this day forgotten by the country. I should look for Quincy, “who died before he heard the echo of his thunder word,” and for Franklin. These are names of Massachusetts heroes of the Revolution; but I would not forget the men of other generations or other birth. I would certainly not forget Winthrop, who preferred his thatched cottage where that church stands to a seat in Parliament; and I should feel that the central figures of this pageant were lonely if there did not stand among them their friend, the great head of that day when Boston last saw an enemy, the form of Washington. Every child who looked around on the statues in this pantheon should read the history of these men's lives, should carry it home with him, should know why they are thus honored, and should come to know that thus it is well to live and well to die.—*Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in address on the Old South, November, 1876.*

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It is because we love the Old South that we want to save it. We love it because it has always been speaking to us of courage, uprightness, independence; we love it because of the memories of famous men which are associated with it; we love it because it is one of the familiar objects of our youth; we love it because it has always spoken to us that one emphatic word, which

Thoreau, I believe, said was the whole speech of Bunker Hill monument, "Here." Here, on this very spot, within these very walls, were words spoken which were heard round the world. Here, in this very place, our forefathers were wrought up to resist the fearful power of Great Britain; here they worshipped their stern God. I think we Americans have great need to cling to every object to which we are locally attached. I believe that national sentiment is but an extension of local attachment,—a vague, but all-powerful sentiment,—and that local attachment clings to small, familiar objects, like the decent church, the hawthorn bush, the spreading tree, which were the charms of sweet Auburn. I think we Americans particularly need to cultivate our historical sense, lest we lose the lessons of the past in this incessant whirl of the trivial present; and we are in much more danger of forgetting the lessons of the past than former generations have been, for telegrams and daily papers are almost our sole reading. Intent upon the ephemeral records of yesterday, we have no eyes for the story of years and centuries gone by. I think we need to recall our own past, to remember our fathers, to remember our heritage. In this present moment of political difficulty let us bear in mind what we owe to those that have gone before us, to the generations that were brought up in this old building,—in the very Old South that we desire to preserve. We depend at this moment upon the political sense and sober second-thought, the self-control and readiness in emergencies which in good measure we have inherited from the generations that have gone before us. Let us pay this debt by reverently preserving the shrines of those generations. If we have any faith in free speech, if we have any faith in freedom of public meeting, why, the Old South is the best shrine of that faith.—*President Eliot, at meeting in behalf of the Old South, at Sanders Theatre, Harvard University, January 18, 1877.*

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When we hear so much said about the continuity of history, it is well for us to think that there is also such a thing as continuity of tradition and of association, which, I think, feeds the roots of a very fine sentiment in us; for I confess I am old-fashioned enough still to prefer patriotism, the love of country, to the longer word "cosmopolitanism," which we sometimes hear recommended as a good substitute for it. It is this continuity of habitual associations, I think, in great part, that has made our mother England so great. She is re-enforced with a past of fourteen hundred years. In this country we have not a very long past; but I confess that I sometimes think that anything that is older than my memory is somehow or other infinitely past, that Bunker Hill is no easier flight for the imagination than Marathon; and I think there is something not precisely respectful said in a book which has hitherto been highly valued in New England about those who build the monuments to the fathers. Those people, it seems to me, are to be respected rather who preserve the monuments of the fathers than those who build them. When we build monuments, a little personal vanity somehow or other is apt to mingle with it. But there is something in a pile of stone, in a pile of bricks, blind though they are, that have looked upon great men and great events, which touches us profoundly and lifts our minds to a higher level of feeling. It has always seemed to me a fine instinct with which Byron spoke of "the mountains that look upon Marathon." He felt the need of some witness contemporaneous with the event, and his imagination endowed those blind precipices with sight for the occasion. Dante says that



every stone in the walls of Rome is sacred to him, simply for that same reason, that they were coeval with great achievements. Association is a kind of unconscious memory, and the wisest people who ever lived called memory the "mother of all the Muses." The minds and characters of all of us are "made and moulded of things past" more than we are always willing to acknowledge. This instinctive conservatism is a part, and a large part, of the cement that holds society together. The habit of looking back is associated with that of looking forward, and fosters those cautious virtues which are the safeguards of a nation. The Old South seems a very costly monument; but remember that it will seem infinitely precious after it is once irrevocably gone.—*James Russell Lowell, at the meeting in behalf of the Old South, at Sanders Theatre.*

The extent of the obligation of Boston and of America to Mary Hemenway, for her devotion to the historical and political education of our young people during the closing period of the nineteenth century, is something which we only now begin to properly appreciate, when she has left us and we view her work as a whole. I do not think it is too much to say that she did more than any other single individual in the same time to promote popular interest in American history and to promote intelligent patriotism. Mrs. Hemenway was a woman whose interests and sympathies were as broad as the world; but she was a great patriot, and she was pre-eminently that. She was an enthusiastic lover of freedom and of democracy, and there was not a day of her life that she did not think of the great price with which our own heritage of freedom had been purchased. Her patriotism was loyalty. She had a deep feeling of personal gratitude to the founders of New England and the fathers of the Republic. She had a reverent pride in our position of leadership in the history and movement of modern democracy; and she had a consuming zeal to keep the nation strong and pure and worthy of its best traditions, and to kindle this zeal among the young people of the nation.

American history, people used to say, is not interesting; and they read about Ivry and Marathon and Zama, about Pym and Pepin and Pericles, the ephors, the tribunes, and the House of Lords. American history, said Mrs. Hemenway, is to us the most interesting and the most important history in the world, if we would only open our eyes to it and look at it in the right way; and I will help people to look at it the right way. Our very archæology, she said, is of the highest interest; and through the researches of Mr. Cushing and Dr. Fewkes and others among the Zuñis and the Moquis, sustained by her at the cost of thousands of dollars, she did an immense work to make interest in it general. Boston, the Puritan city,—how proud she was of its great line of heroic men, from Winthrop and Cotton and Eliot and Harvard to Sumner and Garrison and Parker and Phillips! How proud she was that Harry Vane once trod its soil and here felt himself at home! How she loved Hancock and Otis and Warren and Revere and the great men of the Boston town meetings,—above all, Samuel Adams, the very mention of whose name always thrilled her, and whose portrait was the only one save Washington's which hung on the oaken walls of her great dining-room! The Boston historians, Prescott, Motley, Parkman; the Boston poets, Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson,—each word of every one she treasured. All other Boston men and women must see Boston as she saw it,—that was her high resolve. They must know and take to heart that they were citizens of no mean city; they must be roused to the sacredness of their inheritance, that



so they might be roused to the nobility of their citizenship and the greatness of their duty. It was with this aim and with this spirit, not with the spirit of the mere antiquarian, that Mrs. Hemenway inaugurated the Old South Work. History with her was for use,—the history of Boston, the history of New England, the history of America.

In the first place, she saved the Old South Meeting-house. She contributed \$100,000 toward the fund necessary to prevent its destruction. It is hard for us to realize, so much deeper is the reverence for historic places which the great anniversaries of these late years have done so much to beget, that in our very centennial year, 1876, the Old South Meeting-house, the most sacred and historic structure in Boston or in the country, was in danger of destruction. The old Hancock house, for which, could it be restored, Boston would to-day pour out unlimited treasure, had gone, with but feeble protest, only a dozen years before; and but for Mrs. Hemenway the Old South Meeting-house would have gone in 1876. She saved it; and, having saved it, she determined that it should not stand an idle monument, the tomb of the great ghosts, but a living temple of patriotism. She knew the didactic power of great associations; and every one who in these thirty years has been in the habit of going to the lectures and celebrations at the Old South knows with what added force many a lesson has been taught within the walls which heard the tread of Washington and which still echo the words of Samuel Adams and James Otis and Joseph Warren.—*Edwin D. Mead, in Journal of Education.*

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The address by Wendell Phillips printed in this leaflet was given in the Old South Meeting-house, June 14, 1876, at a great meeting called by public-spirited citizens of Boston, during the struggle to preserve the Old South. After the great Boston fire of 1872 the Meeting-house had been used as a post-office, the Old South congregation having already bought a lot of land upon the Back Bay for a new church. In the spring of 1876 the church was advertised for sale. Protests came from all over the country; but the effort to preserve the building was unorganized, and on June 8 it was sold at auction for \$1,350, to be removed within sixty days. The work of destruction at once began. The clock had been taken from the tower, and the solid masonry had been attacked, when a prominent Boston business house, George W. Simmons & Son, stepped in and bought the right to hold the building uninjured for seven days. June 14 fell in the middle of that period; and the meeting in the Old South on that day was one of the most remarkable ever held within its walls. The Meeting-house was crowded. John T. Clark, chairman of the Board of Aldermen, presided, and with him on the platform were Wendell Phillips, Rev. William H. H. Murray, Charles W. Slack, Curtis Guild, Edward S. Tobey, and George W. Simmons. Mr. Slack and Mr. Clark spoke briefly, and then came the speech of Wendell Phillips. One who was present says: "The time, the place, the subject—all were calculated to draw forth his powers. The memories of the past crowded to his mind, and he spoke as if pleading for the life of one condemned unjustly. The mantle of the Revolution seemed to have fallen upon him, and he appeared to be the natural successor of Samuel Adams."

Mr. Phillips was followed by Rev. William H. H. Murray in an eloquent address, from which a passage is given above; and Mr. Tobey and Mr. Guild also spoke. It was announced that Moses H. Sargent would act as treasurer of the fund, and several thousand dollars were subscribed at once. The movement to save the Old South Meeting-house was impressively launched. The Committee on Preservation chose Governor Alexander H. Rice as its chairman, issued an address to the people of New England, and appointed a committee of one hundred to solicit subscriptions. Months of strenuous effort followed. Many meetings were held. One of the most important was that in Sanders Theatre at Harvard University, on the evening of January 18, 1877, which was addressed by President Eliot, James Russell Lowell, Rev. Alexander McKenzie, Hon. Charles T. Russell, Chief-Justice Bradley, Rev. George Z. Gray, and Rev. George W. Briggs. Brief passages from the addresses of President Eliot and James Russell Lowell are given above, and the full report of the meeting can be seen in the libraries. No one was more active in the effort to save the Meeting-house than Edward Everett Hale, a passage from one of whose addresses is given above; and it is note-

worthy that in the summer of 1907, he conducted the first religious service held in the Meeting-house for thirty years, urging in his sermon that popular religious and patriotic services there on Sundays be hereafter made regular.

The price of the land on which the Old South stood was \$400,000. It was finally the women of Boston and New England who saved the old Meeting-house. Mrs. Mary Hemenway's gift of \$100,000 was the decisive act. An equal sum was made up by the contributions of hundreds of generous givers, and by this payment at the time of half the price the Old South was saved. All of the great poets, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell, were enlisted in the cause. Longfellow's "Ballad of the French Fleet" belongs to this time. James Freeman Clarke's poem, "The Old South Speaks," made the historic structure plead its own cause:—

My time-stained walls the mosses cover,  
Of well-spent years the living proof;  
The ghosts of patriots round me hover,  
Whose voices rang beneath my roof.  
Though prouder domes are elsewhere swelling,  
And loftier spires salute the morn,  
Let Boston save the plain old dwelling  
Where freedom for mankind was born.

Holmes's appeal was as stirring as his earlier appeal for "Old Ironsides." He wrote at the moment when the demolition of the old Meeting-house seemed impending:—

Sad is the sight our eyes behold;  
Woe to the three-hilled town,  
When through the land the tale is told—  
"The brave 'Old South' is down!"  
The spire still greets the morning sun,—  
Say, shall it stand or fall?  
Help, ere the spoiler has begun!  
Help, each, and God help all!

Each and all did help; and Whittier's prophecy shall be fulfilled:—

So long as Boston shall Boston be,  
And her Bay-tides rise and fall,  
Shall freedom stand in the Old South Church,  
And plead for the rights of all.

An excellent little History of the Old South Meeting-house, by Everett W. Burdett, published in 1877, in connection with the effort to save the Meeting-house, contains in its closing chapter a valuable account of that effort. The addresses of Samuel M. Quincy and George O. Shattuck at the legislative hearing in 1874 concerning the right of the Old South Society to sell the church contain much valuable historical material: they are published in a pamphlet, as is also the admirable address at the time of Hon. Francis B. Hayes, urging the legislature to preserve the building. The best general history of the Old South Church is the thorough work in two volumes by Hamilton A. Hill.

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# The History of Harvard College.

BY COTTON MATHER.

## INTRODUCTION.

If there have been Universities in the world, which a Beza would call *Flabella Satanæ*,\* and a Luther would call *Cathedras Pestilentiae* and *antichristi luminaria*,† and a third ventures to style *Synagogas perditionis* and *puteos Abyssi*;‡ the excellent Arrowsmith has truly observed, that it is no more to be inferred from hence that all are so, than that all books are to be burnt, because the Christians did burn the *magical* ones at Ephesus. The New-Englanders have not been Weigeliuns; or the disciples of the furious fanatick, who held forth [Reader, let it never be translated into English!] *Nullam esse in universo Terrarum Orbe Academiam, in qua Christus inveniatur; in Academiis ne tantillam quidem Christi cognitionem reperiri posse: Noluisse Christum Evangelicum prædicari per Diabolos; ergo non per Academicos.*§ Lest all the Hellebore of New-England (a country abounding with Hellebore) should not suffice to restore such dreamers unto their wits, it hath produced an University also, for their better information, their utter confutation. Behold, an American University, presenting herself, with her sons, before her Europæan mothers for their blessing—an University which hath been to these plantations, as Livy saith of Greece, for the good of literature, there cultivated, *SAL GENTIUM*; an University which may make her boast unto the circumjacent regions, like that of the orator on the behalf of the English Cambridge, *Fecimus (absit verbo invidia, cui abest Falsitas) ne in Demagoriis lapis*

\* Satan's fans.

† Seats of pestilence and beacons of Antichrist.

‡ Synagogues of perdition and sinks of hell.

§ That there is no institution of learning in the world, where Christ is to be found: in such institutions, not a particle of the knowledge of Christ can be obtained: Christ was unwilling that the gospel should be preached by devils; consequently, he is unwilling that it should be preached by scholars.



*sederit super lapidem, ne deessent in templis theologi, in Foris Jurisperiti, in oppidis medici; rempublicam, ecclesiam, sedatam, exparatis, quo magis eruditi fuerint:\** Finally, an University which has been what Stangius made his abbey, when he turned it into a Protestant Colledge; *Τῆς Θεογνωσίας παιδευτήριον καὶ ψυχῶν διζασκαλείαν Λογικῶν.*† And a river, without the streams whereof, these regions would have been meer unwatered places for the devil!

## PART I.

ITS LAWS, BENEFACTORS, VICISSITUDES, AND ITS GRADUATES.

§ 1. The nations of mankind, that have shaken off barbarity, have not more differed in the languages, than they have agreed in this one principle, that *schools*, for the institution of young men, in all other liberal sciences, as well as that of languages, are necessary to procure, and preserve, that learning amongst them, which

*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.‡*

To relate the thousandth part of the brave things, which have been done by the nations of Asia, in former, or the nations of Europe, in latter ages, pursuant to this principle, would be to fill huge folio volumes, with transcribing from Hospinian or Meddendorpius, from Alsted, from Junius, and from Leigh, and from very many other authors. America is the part of the world whereto our history is confined; and one little part of America, where the first *academy* that ever adorned any English plantation in America was erected; and an academy which, if *majores nostri academias signato vocabulo appellavere Universitates, quod Universarum Divinarum Humanarumque Rerum Cognitio, in ijs, ut Thesauro conservato aperiatur,*§ it may, though it have otherwise wanted many priviledges, from the very foundation of it pretend unto the name of an UNIVERSITY. The primi-

\* We have provided, (and let envy be as far removed from this declaration as is falsehood,) that in popular assemblies stone should not talk to stone—that the church should not lack priests, or the bar, jurists, or the community, physicians: we have supplied the government, the church, the senate, the army, with accomplished men, who are the better qualified to serve the public interest in proportion to the superiority of their acquirements.

† A seminary of the knowledge of God, and a school for logical minds.

‡ Chastens the manners and the soul refines.

§ Our forefathers called academies by the significant name of Universities, because in them are revealed, like a hidden treasure, the *universal* stores of knowledge, both in divine and human things.

tive Christians were not more prudently careful to settle schools for the education of persons, to succeed the more immediately inspired ministry of the apostles, and such as had been ordained by the apostles; (and the apostle Julian truly imagined that he could not sooner undo Christianity than by putting of them down!) than the Christians in the most early times of New-England were to form a COLLEDGE, wherein a succession of a learned and able ministry might be educated. And, indeed, they foresaw that without such a provision for a *sufficient ministry*, the churches of New-England must have been less than a *business of one age*, and soon have come to nothing: the other *hemisphere* of the world would never have sent us over MEN enough to have answered our necessities; but without a nursery for such MEN among ourselves “darkness must have soon covered the land, and gross darkness the people.” For some little while, indeed, there were very hopeful effects of the pains taken by certain particular men of great worth and skill, to bring up some in their own private families for public services; but much of uncertainty and of inconveniency in this way was in that little while discovered; and when wise men considered the question handled by Quintilian, *Utilius ne sit domi, atque, intra privatos Parietes studentem continere, an frequentiæ scholarum, et velut publicis præceptoribus tradere?* \* they soon determined it as he did, that *set-schools* are so necessary, there is no doing without them. Wherefore a COLLEDGE must now be thought upon: a Colledge, the best thing that ever New-England thought upon! As the admirable Voctius could happily boast of it, that whereas there are no less than *ten* provinces in the *Popish* Belgium, and there are no more than *two* universities in them, there are but *seven* provinces in the *reformed* Belgium, and there are *five* Universities therein, besides other academical societies; thus the first Possessors of this protestant and puritan country were zealous for an University, that should be more significant than the Seminaries of Canada and Mexico; New-England, compared with other places, might lay claim to the character that Strabo gives of Tarsus, the city of our apostle Paul’s first education; “they had so great a love to Philosophy, [τοσαύτη σπούδῃ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν,] and all the liberal sciences, that they excelled Athens, Alexandria, and if there were any other place worth naming where the schools, and disputes of philosophy, and all

\* Whether it is more expedient to shut up the student at home and in his own closet, or to send him to the crowded school and to public teachers.

humane arts are maintained." And although this country did chiefly consist of such as, by the difficulties of subduing a wretched wilderness, were brought into such a condition of poverty, that they might have gone by the title by which the modestly-clad noblemen and gentlemen that first petitioned against the Inquisition in the low countries were distinguished, namely, "a troop of beggars," yet these *Gueux* were willing to let the richer colonies, which retained the ways of the Church of England, see "how much true religion was a friend unto good literature." The reader knows that in every town among the Jews, there was a school, whereat children were taught the reading of the law; and if there were any town destitute of a school, the men of the place did stand excommunicate until one were erected: besides and beyond which, they had *midrashoth*, or divinity-schools, in which they expounded the law to their disciples. Whether the churches of New-England have been duely careful or no, about their other schools, they have not been altogether careless about their *midrashoth*; and it is well for them that they have not.

§ 2. A General Court, held at Boston, September 8, 1636, advanced a small sum (and it was then a day of small things), namely, four hundred pounds, by way of essay towards the building of something to begin a Colledge; and New-Town being the *Kiriath Sepher* \* appointed for the seat of it, the name of the town was for the sake of somewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an University, changed into Cambridge. 'Tis true, the University of Upsal in Sueden hath ordinarily about seven or eight hundred students belonging to it, which do none of them live collegiately, but board all of them here and there at private houses; nevertheless, the government of New-England was for having their students brought up in a more collegiate way of living. But that which laid the most significant *stone* in the foundation, was the last will of Mr. JOHN HARVARD, a reverend and -excellent minister of the gospel, who, dying at Charlestown of a consumption, quickly after his arrival here, bequeathed the sum of seven hundred, seventy nine pounds, seventeen shillings and two pence, towards the pious work of building a Colledge, which was now set a foot. A committee then being chosen, to prosecute an affair so happily commenced, it soon found encouragement from several other benefactors: the other colonies sent some small help to the undertaking, and several

\* City of Books.



particular gentlemen did more than whole colonies to support and forward it: but because the memorable Mr. JOHN HARVARD led the way by a generosity exceeding the most of them that followed, *his* name was justly æternized, by its having the name of HARVARD COLLEDGE imposed upon it. While these things were a doing, a society of scholars, to lodge in the *new nests*, were forming under the conduct of one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, [or, if thou wilt, reader, *Orbilius* Eaton] a blade who marvellously deceived the expectations of good men concerning him; for he was one fitter to be master of a Bridewel than a Colledge: and though his *avarice* was notorious enough to get the name of a *Philargyrius* \* fixed upon him, yet his *cruelty* was more scandalous than his *avarice*. He was a rare scholar himself, and he made many more such; but their education truly was "in the school of Tyrannus." Among many other instances of his cruelty, he gave one in causing two men to hold a young gentleman, while he so unmercifully beat him with a *cudgel*, that, upon complaint of it unto the court in September, 1639, he was fined an hundred marks, besides a convenient sum to be paid unto the young gentleman that had suffered by his unmercifulness; and for his inhumane severities towards the scholars, he was removed from his trust. After this, being first excommunicated by the church of Cambridge, he did himself excommunicate all our churches, going first into Virginia, then into England, where he lived privately until the restauration of King Charles the II. Then conforming to the ceremonies of the church of England, he was fixed at Biddiford, where he became (as *Apostata est Osor sui Ordinis*)—a bitter persecutor of the Christians that kept faithful to the way of worship, from which he was himself an apostate; until he who had cast so many into prison for *conscience*, was himself cast into prison for *debt*; where he did, at length, pay one debt, namely, that unto *nature*, by death.

§ 3. On August 27, 1640, the magistrates, with the ministers, of the colony, chose Mr. Henry Dunstar to be the President of their new Harvard-Colledge. And in time convenient, the General Court endued the Colledge with a charter, which made it a corporation, consisting of a President, two Fellows, and a Treasurer to all proper intents and purposes: only with powers reserved unto the Governour, Deputy-Governour, and all the magistrates of the colony, and the ministers of the six next towns

\* Money lover.

for the time being, to act as *overseers* or *visitors* of the society. The tongues and arts were now taught in the Colledge, and piety was maintained with so laudable a discipline, that many eminent persons went forth from hence, adorned with accomplishments, that rendered them formidable to other parts of the world, as well as to this country, and persons of good quality sent their sons from other parts of the world for such an education as this country could give unto them. The number of benefactors to the Colledge did herewithal increase to such a degree of benefits, that although the President were supported still by a salary from the Treasury of the colony, yet the Treasury of the Colledge itself was able to pay many of its expences; especially after the incomes of Charlestown Ferry were by an act of the General Court settled thereupon. To enumerate these benefactors would be a piece of justice to their memory, and the catalogue of their names and works, preserved in the Colledge, has done them that justice. But as I find one article in that catalogue to run thus, "a gentleman not willing his name should be put upon record, gave fifty pounds;" thus I am so willing to believe, that most of those good men that are mentioned were content with a record of their good deeds in the book of God's remembrance, that I shall excuse this book of our church history from swelling with a particular mention of them: albeit for us to leave unmentioned in this place MOULSON, a SALTONSTAL, an ASHURST, a PENNOYER, a DODDRIDGE, an HOPKINS, a WEB, an USHER, an HULL, a RICHARDS, an HULTON, a GUNSTON, would hardly be excusable. And while these made their liberal contributions, either to the edifice or to the revenue of the Colledge, there were other that enriched its library by presenting of choice books with mathematical instruments thereunto, among whom Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Joseph Hill, ought always to be remembered. But the most considerable accession to this library was, when the Reverend Mr. Theophilus Gale, a well known *writer* of many books, and *owner* of more, bequeathed what he had unto his New-English treasury of learning; whereof I find in an Oration of Mr. Increase Mather, at the commencement in the year 1681, this commemoration:—" *Libris quam plurimis iisque Lectu dignissimis Bibliotheca Harvardina Locupletatur, quos THEOPHILUS GALEUS, (ὁ μακαρίτης) Theologus nunquam satis Laudatus, legavit; quosque Novanglorum Moses, Dominum Gulielmum Stoughtonum volo, procuravit, eoque se primum Huius Academiæ Curatorem præbuit, atque Harvardinos omnes*

*sibi in perpetuum Devinctos habet.*" \* Indeed this library is at this day, far from a Vatican, or a Bodleian dimension, and sufficiently short of that made by Ptolomy at Alexandria, in which *Fame* hath placed seven hundred thousand volumes, and of that made by Theodosius at Constantinople, in which a more certain *fame* hath told us of ten myriads: nevertheless 'tis I suppose the best furnished that can be shown any where in all the American regions; and when I have the honour to walk in it, I cannot but think on the satisfaction which Heinsius reports himself to be filled withal, when shut up in the library at Leyden; *Plerumque in ea simulac pedem posui, foribus Pessulum obdo, et in ipso Æternitatis Gremio, inter tot illustres Animas sedem mihi Sumo: cum ingenti quidem Animo, ut subinde Magnatum me misereat, qui Fœlicitatem hanc ignorant.* †

§ 4. When scholars had so far profitted at the grammar schools that they could read any classical author into English, and readily make and speak true Latin, and write it in *verse* as well as *prose*; and perfectly decline the *paradigms* of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission in Harvard-Colledge; and, upon the examination, were accordingly admitted by the President and Fellows; who, in testimony thereof, signed a copy of the Colledge laws, which the scholars were each of them to transcribe and preserve, as the continual remembrancers of the duties whereto their priviledges oblided them. While the *President* inspected the *manners* of the students thus entertained in the Colledge, and unto his morning and evening prayers in the hall joined an *exposition* upon the chapters; which they read out of Hebrew into Greek, from the *Old Testament* in the morning, and out of English into Greek, from the *New Testament* in the evening; besides what Sermons he saw cause to preach in publick assemblies on the Lord's day at Cambridge where the students have a particular gallery allotted unto them; the Fellows resident on the place became Tutors to the several classes, and after they had instructed them in the Hebrew language, led them through all the *liberal arts*, ere their first *four years* expired. And in this time, they had their weekly *declamations*, on Fridays in

\* The library of Harvard College is enriched with a great number of books, and those such as are best worth reading—selected by Theophilus Gale, (of blessed memory) who has never yet received his full meed of praise as a theologian; also, by William Stoughton, the Moses of the New Englanders, who was the first benefactor of this institution, and has bound all true sons of Harvard to himself in bonds of everlasting gratitude.

† Generally, as soon as I set foot in it, I bolt the door, and seem to repose on the very bosom of immortal mind, among so many illustrious spirits: with a sense of delight so exalted, that I pity even princes, who do not know this happiness.



the Colledge-hall, besides publick *disputations*, which either the President or the Fellows moderated. Those who then stood candidates to be graduates, were to attend in the hall for certain hours, on Mondays, and on Tuesdays, three weeks together towards the middle of June, which were called "weeks of visitation;" so that all comers that pleased might examine their skill in the *languages* and *sciences* which they now pretended unto; and usually, some or other of the overseers of the Colledge would on purpose *visit* them, whilst they were thus doing what they called "sitting of solstices:" when the *commencement* arrived—which was formerly the second Tuesday in August, but since, the first Wednesday in July—they that were to proceed Bachelors, held their *act* publicly in Cambridge; whither the magistrates and ministers, and other gentlemen then came, to put respect upon their exercises: and these exercises were, besides an oration usually made by the President, orations both *salutatory* and *valedictory*, made by some or other of the commencers, wherein all *persons* and *orders* of any fashion then present, were addressed with proper complements, and reflections were made on the most remarkable occurrents of the præceding year; and these orations were made not only in Latin, but sometimes in Greek and in Hebrew also; and some of them were in verse, and even in Greek verse, as well as others in prose. But the main exercises were *disputations* upon questions, wherein the *respondents* first made their *theses*: for according to Vossius, the very essence of the Baccalaureat seems to lye in the thing: BACCALAUREUS being but a name corrupted of *Batualius*, which *Batualius* (as well as the French *Bataile*) comes a *Batuendo*, a business that carries *beating* in it: So that, "*Batualii fuerunt vocati, quia jam quasi Batuissent cum adversario, ac Manus conseruissent; hoc est, Publice Disputassent, atque ita Peritiæ suæ specimen dedissent.*"\* In the close of the day, the President, with the formality of delivering a book into their hands, gave them their *first degree*: but such of them as had studied three years after their first degree, to answer the Horatian character of an artist,

*Qui Studiis Annos Septem dedit insenuitque Libris et curis.*†

And besides their exhibiting *synopses* of the liberal arts, by

\* They were called *Battailers* because they had battled as it were with an antagonist—that is, had engaged in a public controversy or discussion, and thus given a specimen of their proficiency.

† Who seven long years has spent in student-toil.

themselves composed, now again publicly disputed on some questions, of perhaps a little higher elevation; these now, with a like formality, received their *second degree*, proceeding Masters of Art.—“*Quis enim doctrinam amplectitur ipsam, præmia si tollis?*” \* The words used by the President, in this action, were:

FOR THE BATCHELOURS.

*Admitto te ad Primum Gradum in Artibus, scilicet, ad respondendum questioni, pro more Academicarum in Angliâ.*

*Tibique Trado hunc Librum, unâ cum potestate publicè prælegendi, in aliquâ artium (quam profiteris) quotiescunque ad hoc munus evocatus fueris.†*

FOR THE MASTERS.

*Admitto te ad Secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academicarum in Angliâ.*

*Tradoque tibi hunc Librum, unâ cum potestate profitendi, ubicunque ad hoc munus publicè evocatus fueris.‡*

§ 5. Mr. Henry Dunster, continued the President of Harvard-Colledge, until his unhappy entanglement in the snares of anabaptism fill'd the *overseers* with uneasie fears, lest the students, by his means, should come to be ensnared: Which uneasiness was at length so signified unto him, that on October 24, 1654, he presented unto the overseers an instrument under his hands; wherein he resigned the Presidentship, and they accepted his resignation. That brave old man Johannes Amos Commonius, the *fame* of whose worth hath been *trumpetted* as far as more than *three* languages (whereof every one is indebted unto his *Janua*) could carry it, was indeed agreed withal, by our Mr. Winthrop in his travels through the *low countries*, to come over into New-England, and illuminate this Colledge and *country*, in the quality of a President: But the solicitations of the Swedish Ambassador, diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American. On November 2, 1654, Mr. Richard Mather

\* For who would seek even learning itself, if you should strip it of its rewards?

† I admit you to the first degree in Arts, that is to say, to the privilege of responding in debate, according to the custom of the English Universities; and I deliver to you this book, with the privilege of reading in public, in such profession as you shall select, as often as you are summoned to that duty.

‡ I admit you to the second degree in Arts, according to the custom of the English Universities; and I deliver to you this book with the privilege of practising a profession, whenever you shall be called upon to do so.

and Mr. Norton were employed by the overseers to tender unto Mr. Charles Chancey the place of President, which was now become vacant; who, on the twenty-seventh day of that month, had a solemn Inauguration thereunto. A person he was, of whom 'tis not easie to say *too much*; but let it here be *enough* to recite the words of Mr. Increase Mather (who now succeeds him) in one of his orations:

“Cl. Ille Chancæus, quem CAROLUM magnum, jure optimo nominare possumus: Fuit ille senex venerandus, linguarum et artium præsiis instructissimus, gymnasiarcha præclarè doctus; qui in filiis prophetarum erudiendis fidelem navavit operam omnemque diligentiam adhibuit. Abitus et obitus tanti viri, Collegium quasi truncatum, ac tantum non enecatam reliquerunt.” \*

After the death of Mr. Chancey, which was at the latter end of the year 1671, the *Alma Mater Academia* must look among her own *sons*, to find a President for the rest of her children; and accordingly the Fellows of the Colledge, with the approbation of the overseers, July 13, 1672, elected Mr. Leonard Hoar unto that office; whereto, on the tenth of September following, he was inaugurated.

This gentleman, after his education in Harvard-Colledge, travelled over into England; where he was not only a preacher of the gospel in divers places, but also received from the University in Cambridge the degree of a Doctor of Physick. The Doctor, upon some invitations, relating to a settlement, in the pastoral charge with the South Church at Boston, returned into New-England; having first married a virtuous daughter of the Lord Lisle, a great example of *piety* and *patience*, who now cross'd the Atlantick with him; and quickly after his arrival here, his invitation to *preside* over the Colledge at Cambridge, superseded those from the Church in Boston. Were he considered either as a *scholar* or as a *Christian*, he was truly a *worthy man*; and he was generally reputed such, until happening, I can scarce tell *how*, to fall under the displeasure of *some* that made a figure in the neighbourhood, the *young men* in the Colledge took advantage therefrom, to ruine his reputation, as far as they

\* That Chauncey, whom we may properly style Charles the Great, was a venerable old man, most accomplished in the fundamental principles of science and in the use of language, most expert in the art of instruction, who devoted himself with exemplary and unfailing diligence to the instruction of the sons of the prophets. The death of so great a man left the college crippled and well nigh crushed.



were able. He then found the Rectorship of a Colledge to be as troublesome a thing as ever Antigonus did his *robe*; and he could subscribe to Melchior Adams' account of it, "*Sceptrum illud scholasticum, plus habet sollicitudinis quam pulchritudinis, plus curæ quam auri, plus impeditenti quam argenti.*" \* The young plants turned *cud-weeds*, and, with great violations of the fifth Commandment, set themselves to *travestie* whatever he *did* and *said*, and aggravate every thing in his behaviour disagreeable to them, with a design to make him *odious*; and in a *day of temptation*, which was now upon them, several very *good men* did unhappily countenance the ungoverned youths in their ungovernableness. Things were at length driven to such a pass, that the students deserted the Colledge, and the Doctor, on March 15, 1675, resigned his Presidentship. But the *hard* and *ill* usage which he met withal made so deep an impression upon his mind, that his grief threw him into a consumption, whereof he dyed November 28, the winter following, in Boston; and he lies now interr'd at Braintree: where he might properly enough have this line inscribed over him for his

## EPITAPH

*Malus celeri saucius Africo.†*

The fate of this ingenious man was not altogether without a parallel, in what long since befel Dr. Metcalf, the Master of St. John's Colledge in Cambridge; who, as Dr. Fuller has related it, was injuriously driven from the Colledge, and expired soon after his going out of his office: But I would not have my reader go too far, in constructing the remark, which the great Caius made thereupon, "*Omnes qui Metcalfi excludendi autores extiterunt, multis adversæ fortunæ procellis, sive divina ultione, seu fato suo jactati, mortem obierunt exemplo memorabili.*" ‡ All that I shall farther add concerning our Doctor is, that in his time, there being occasion for the Colledge to be recruited with new edifices, there was a contribution made for it through the Colony, which, in the whole, amounted unto one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety five pounds, two shillings and nine pence; and of this,

\* The academic sceptre is more fruitful of anxiety than of pleasure—brings more care than cash—more embarrassment than remuneration.

† His masts all splintered by the driving gale.

‡ All who favoured the dismissal of Metcalf, after suffering many adversities, either from special divine vengeance, or the ordinary course of Providence, died in a remarkable manner.

there was eight hundred pounds given by the one town of Boston; and of that, there was one hundred pounds given by the one hand of Sir Thomas Temple, as true a gentleman, as ever set foot on the American strand; and this contribution, with some other assistances, quickly produced a *new* Colledge, wearing still the name of the *old* one, which old one is now so mouldered away, that

— *Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit.\**

After the death of Dr. Hoar, the place of President *pro tempore*, was put upon Mr. Urian Oakes, the excellent Pastor of the Church at Cambridge; who did so, and would *no otherwise* accept of the place; though the offer of a *full settlement* in the place was afterwards importunately made unto him. He did the services of a president, even, as he did all other services, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably; and by a *new choice* of him thereunto, on February 2, 1679, was, at last, prevailed withal to take the full charge upon him. We all know, that Britain knew nothing more famous than their ancient sect of DRUIDS; the philosophers, whose order, they say, was instituted by one Samothès, which is in English, as much as to say, *an heavenly man*. The Celtic name, *Deru* for an *Oak*, was that from whence they received their denomination; as at this very day, the Welch call this tree *Derw*, and this order of men *Derwyddon*. But there are no small antiquaries, who derive this *oaken religion* and *philosophy* from the Oaks of Mamre, where the Patriarch Abraham had as well a *dwelling* as an *altar*. That *Oaken-Plain*, and the eminent OAK under which Abraham lodged, was extant in the days of Constantine, as Isidore, Jerom, and Sozomen have assured us. Yea, there are shrew'd probabilities that Noah himself had lived in this very *Oak-Plain* before him; for this very place was called *Onyγ*, which was the name of Noah, so styled from the *Oggyan* (*subcineritiis panibus* †) sacrifices, which he did use to offer, in this renowned Grove: And it was from this example that the ancients, and particularly that the Druids of the nations, chose *oaken* retirements for their studies. Reader, let us now upon another account behold the students of Harvard-Colledge, as a rendezvous of happy Druids, under the influences of so rare a President: But, alas! our joy must be short lived; for, on July 25, 1681, the stroak of a sudden death fell'd the tree,

\* The harvest waves where once stood Troy.

† Bread baked under ashes.

—*Qui tantum inter caput extulit omnes,  
Quantum lenta solent, inter viburna cypressi.\**

Mr. Oakes, thus being *transplanted* into the better world, the Presidentship was immediately tendered unto Mr. Increase Mather; but his Church, upon the application of the overseers unto them to dismiss him unto the place whereto he was now chosen, refusing to do it, he declined the motion. Wherefore, on April 10, 1682, Mr. John Rogers was elected unto that place; and on August 12, 1683, he was installed into it. This worthy person was the son of the renowned Mr. Nathanael Rogers, the Pastor to the Church of Ipswich; and he was himself a preacher at Ipswich, until his disposition for *medicinal studies* caused him to abate of his labours in the *pulpit*. He was one of so sweet a temper, that the title of *deliciæ humani generis* † might have on that score been given him; and his real *piety* set off with the accomplishments of a gentleman, as a gem set in gold. In his Presidentship, there fell out one thing particularly, for which the Colledge has cause to remember him. It was his custom to be somewhat *long* in his daily prayers (which our Presidents use to make) with the scholars in the Colledge-hall. But one day, without being able to give reason for it, he was not so long, it may be by half, as he used to be. Heaven knew the *reason*! The scholars, returning to their chambers, found one of them on fire, and the fire had proceeded so far, that if the devotions had held three minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in ashes, which now was happily preserved. But him also a præmature death, on July 2, 1684, the day after the Commencement, snatcht away from a society that hoped for a much longer enjoyment of him, and counted themselves under as black an *eclipse* as the Sun did happen to be, at the hour of his expiration.

But that the character of this gentleman may be more perfectly exhibited, we will here take the leave to transcribe the epitaph engraved on his tomb, in God's-acre, at Cambridge. It is the desire of *immortality* inwrought into the very nature of man, that produced the invention of *epitaphs*, and while some will ascribe the invention unto the scholars of Linus, who so signified their affection to their slain master, others will that it may be ascend as high as the *great stone* of Abel, mentioned in the first book of

\* Whose noble head towered high above the rest,  
As 'mid the reeds the cypress lifts its crest.

† The favourite of mankind.



Samuel, which, they'll tell us, was erected as a memorial to Abel by his father Adam, with that inscription upon it, "Here was shed the blood of the righteous Abel."

Now to immortalize this their master, one of the scholars in Harvard-Colledge gave to the great stone of ROGERS the ensuing lines, to be now read there for his memorial; which, for the same cause, we make a part of our history:

*Mandatur huic Terræ et Tumulo,  
Humanitatis Ærarium,  
Theologiæ Horreum,  
Optimarum Literarum Bibliotheca,  
Rei Medicinalis Systema,  
Integritatis Domicilium,  
Fidei Repositorium,  
Christianæ Simplicitatis Exemplar,*

*ῶασω των ἀζετων θησανζος.*

*Sc. Domini Reverendissimi,*

*Chara est pars restans nobis, et quando cadaver.\**

D. JOANNIS ROGERSII,  
Rogersii Doctissimi Ipsuicensis in  
Nov-Angliâ, Filii,  
Dedhamensis, in Veteri Angliâ, per  
Orbem Terrarum Clarissimi, Ne-  
potis, Collegii Harvardini  
Lectissimi, ac Meritò dilectissimi  
Præsidis, Pars Terrestior.  
Cælestior, à nobis Erepta fuit,  
Julii 20, A. D. M. DC. LXXX. IV.  
Ætatis suæ, LIV.

§ 6. The colledge was now again, by universal choice, cast into the hands of Mr. Increase Mather, who had already, in other capacities, been serving of it; and he accordingly, without leaving either his *house* or his *church* at Boston, made his continual visits to the colledge at Cambridge, managing as well the weekly *disputation*, as the annual *commencements*, and inspecting the whole affairs of the society; and by preaching often at Cambridge, he made his visits yet more profitable unto them.

Reader, the interest and figure which the world knows this my *parent* hath had, in the ecclesiastical concerns of this country, ever since his first return from England in the twenty-second, until his next return from England in the fifty-third year of his age; makes it a difficult thing for *me* to write the church-history of the country. Should I insert every where the relation which he hath had unto the public matters, it will be thought by the *envious* that I had undertaken this work with an eye to such a *motto* as the son of the memorable prince of Orange took his

\* To this mound of earth is committed a treasury of benevolence, a storehouse of theologic learning, a library of the choicest literature, a living system of medicine, an embodiment of integrity, a repository of faith, a pattern of Christian sympathy, a garner of all virtues—in other words, the mortal remains of the Very Reverend John Rogers, son of the Very Learned Nathanael Rogers, of Ipswich in New-England, grandson of Mr. Rogers, of Dedham in Old-England, whose name is illustrious throughout the world. He was a favourite and deservedly admired President of Harvard College. His immortal part was borne away from us July the 20th, A.D. 1684.

His very dust is dear; 'tis all we have.

device, *patriæque patrique*:\* should I, on the other side, bury in utter silence all the effects of that care and zeal wherewith he hath employed in his peculiar opportunities, with which the free grace of Heaven hath talented him to do good unto the public; I must cut off some *essentials* of my story. I will, however, bowle nearer to the *latter* mark than the *former*: and if no body blame Sir Henry Wotton for still mentioning his father with so much veneration, as “that best of men, my father,” I hope I shall not be blamed for saying thus much, “my father hath been desirous to do some good.” Wherefore I will not only add in this place, that when the honourable Joseph Dudley, Esq., was by the king’s commission made President of the territory of New-England, this gentleman, among other expressions of his hearty desire to secure the prosperity of his mother, whose breast himself hath sucked, continued the government of the colledge in the hands of Mr. Mather, and altered his title into that of a *rector*. But when wise persons apprehend that the constitution of *men* and *things*, which followed after the arrival of another governor, threatened all the churches with quick ruines, wherein the colledge could not but be comprehended, Mr. Mather did, by their advice, repair to Whitehall; where, being remarkably favoured by *three crowned heads*, in successive and personal applications unto them, on the behalf of his distressed country, and having obtained several kindnesses for the colledge in particular, he returned into New-England, in the beginning of the year, 1692, with a royal charter, full of most ample privileges. By that royal charter, under the seal of King William and Queen Mary, the country had its *English* and its *Christian* liberties, as well as its titles to its lands (formerly contested) secured to it; and the province being particularly enabled hereby to incorporate the colledge, (which was the reason that he did not stay to solicit a particular charter for it,) immediately upon his arrival the general assembly gratified his desire, in granting a charter to this university. Mr. Mather now reassuming the quality of President over the colledge, which in his absence had flourished for divers years, under the prudent government of two tutors, Mr. John Leveret and Mr. William Bruttle, he does to this day continue his endeavours to keep alive that *river*, the streams whereof have *made glad* this *city of God*. Unto this brief recitation of occurrences relating to the colledge, I shall only annex a few passages, used by Mr. Mather

\* My country and my sire.

when he gave the degrees, at the first commencement after his arrival; because they are expressive of things purely *academical*:

*“Gradus academicus est honor ob virtutem potissimum intellectualem, merentibus, collatus: estque baccalaureatus, magisterium, ac doctoratus. Doctoratus in Nostro Athenæo plane ignotus; et quod supra nos, nihil ad nos. De verâ nomenis baccalaurei notatione, inter peritissimos ambigitur. Nonnulli verbum à baculo, derivari volunt; unde scholastici hanc baccalaurei descriptionem formarunt baccalaureus est persona habens dignitatem bajulandi; baculum, premovibilis in magistrum. Ridiculum animal baccalaureus sit oportet, si hæc definitio, suo definito per omnia quadraret! A Baccâ laurus vocem desumi verisimilius est; caveant artem baccalaurei, ne laureolos, in mastaceo quærant. Ad magisterii gradum quod attinet, eo decorari solent, qui absoluto liberalium artium studio, istâ laureâ se dignos præbent. Magister artium, in quibusdam academiis philosophiæ doctor audit: sic apud Belgas, et sic etiam, ni fallor, apud nonnullos Germanos; quamvis Anglis, Gallis, Hispanis, Italis, Polonis, iste titulus sit ignotis. De antiquitate et utilitate graduum academicorum, multi multa scripserunt; præ cæteris, Altingius et Conringius. Honos alit artes. Ea quidem virtutis perfectio est, ut propter se expecti debeat; ea tamen est humani ingenii perversitas, quòd nisi honoribus erigantur artes, neglectui habentur.*

*Vix facile invenies multis in millibus unum,  
Virtutem pretium, qui putet esse sui.*

*“De jure conferendi academicos honores, juvenis doctissimus Christianus, Itterus, librum pereruditum nuper edidit: atque alterum de jure erigendi academias, Zeiglerus publici juris fecit. Mitto Rotmarum, qui collegia corpora ecclesiastica esse vult ac igitur pro academiis non habenda, quæ privilegiis pontificiorum non sunt donatæ. Jus constituendi academias, omnibus et solis, qui τὸ κῦριον habent in republica tribuitur. Oggeret forsitan aliquis, si hæc protestas inter regalia numeretur, quid Novanglia cum academia? Quid Cantabrigia Novanglorum cum gradu academico? Ejusmodi objectores sciant velim, nostram academiam regis auctoritate jam firmatam et munitam esse. Notius est quam ut meâ narratione egeat, quòd non solùm summæ potestates, sed alii, eorum nomine, hos honores dispersiant, quòd, exempli gratiâ, in imperio Romano Germanico, Archiduces Austriæ, etiam et comites Palatini; quodque in fæderato Belgio, singuli ordines, in unaquaque provincia,*



*hanc potestatem habeant et exerceant. Imo, et Rex ipse magnus Gulielmus, magnæ Britanniae imperator, mihi dicere dignitatus est, se sat scire, quòd apud suos in Novangliâ subditos esset academia; quæ academia (aiebat delictum humani generis, rex noster potentissimus) mihi erit in gratia. Quid verbis regiis gratiosius esse poterit! Deindè verò summa provinciâ Massachusettensis curia, gubernator, senatus, populusque Nov-Anglicanus, collegium Harvardinum, academiam, cum auctoritate conferendi gradus pro more academiarum Angliæ nominârunt et instituerunt. Adsunt denique illustres duumviri: D. Gulielmus Phipsius, hujus territorii gubernator amplissimus, regis mandato delegatus; nec non D. Gulielmus Stoughtonus, pro-gubernator, Mæcenæ noster æternam honorandus; quos equidem tanquam cancellarium et vice-cancellarium, hujus academici veneror, animo, menteque suspicio. Hæc cum ista se habeant, ad gradus academicos sine morâ, ac solito more, cur non procederemus, nullus video.” \**

\* A collegiate degree is an honour, conferred on those whose intellectual merits entitle them to it, and is either a Bachelor's, Master's, or Doctor's. The last are altogether ignored in our institutions of learning; for what is too high for us is of course of no value to us. The true etymology of the term “baccalaureate,” is still in dispute. Some trace its derivation from *baculum*, “a staff,” and define a bachelor, as, “a person having the prerogative of beating others—holding the staff—a degree antecedent to that of Master.” A *Bachelor of Arts* would be a ridiculous creature, if this definition should hold good throughout. It is more probable that the word is taken from *bacca laurûs* (berry of the laurel). Let the Bachelors beware lest they look for their berries on the mock-laurel. As for the Master's degree, those usually receive its honours, who by strict application to liberal studies prove themselves worthy of that distinction. A Master of Arts, in some instances, is styled a Doctor of Philosophy; it is so in Belgium, and also, if I mistake not, in some parts of Germany; although that title is unknown in England, France, Spain, Italy, and Poland. Many writers, chief among whom are Altling and Conringius, have discussed the antiquity and usefulness of academic degrees. Honour promotes learning. It is indeed the perfection of virtue, that it deserves to be cultivated for its own sake; yet such is the perversity of human nature, that, unless stimulated by hopes of distinction, we disregard the claims of learning.

Few trust the creed—though some in words accord—  
That virtue is her own, her best reward.

A young Christian, Itter, has lately written a very learned work on the right of conferring academic degrees; and Zeigler has given to the public another concerning the right to establish institutions of learning. I say nothing of Rotmar, who wishes colleges to be classed as ecclesiastical bodies, and not be treated therefore as academies, which are not endowed with the privileges of the priesthood. The right of establishing colleges is reserved to all those, and to those only, who hold the sovereignty in the State. And perhaps some one would here suggest, if this prerogative is one of sovereignty what has New-England to do with colleges? What has the New-England Cambridge to do with academic degrees? I would have such objectors understand that our college is now established and confirmed by royal authority. It is too notorious to need any statement from me, that not only the sovereign power, but others, in the sovereign's name, dispense these honours, as for instance, as in Catholic Germany, the archdukes of Austria, and even the Counts Palatine: and as in the Belgian confederation, every rank, and that too in every province, exercises this right. Yes, and even the great William, King of the British Empire, condescended to say to me, that he well understood that there was a college among his New-England subjects: “which college” (added that ornament of human nature, our mighty sovereign,) “I shall hold in special favour.” What could be more gracious than the royal words! Then indeed did the high court of the Province of Massachusetts, the governor, the senate and the people of New-England name and establish Harvard as a college, with the authority to confer degrees after the manner of

§ 7. At the commencement, it has been the annual custom for the batchelors to publish a sheet of theses, *pro virili defendendæ*,\* upon all or most of the *liberal arts*; among which they do, with a particular character, distinguish those that are to be the subjects of the public disputations then before them; and those theses they dedicate, as handsomely as they can, to the persons of quality, but especially to the governour of the province, whose patronage the colledge would be recommended unto. The masters do, in an half sheet, without any dedication, publish only the questions, *pro modulo discutiendæ*,† which they propose either affirmatively or negatively to maintain as respondents, in the disputations which are by them to be managed. They that peruse the theses of the batchelors of later years published, will find that though the Ramæan discipline be in this college preferred unto the Aristotelæan, yet they do not so confine themselves unto that neither, as to deprive themselves of that *libera philosophia*,‡ which the *good spirits* of the age have embraced, ever since the great Lord Bacon show'd 'em the way to “the advancement of learning:” but they seem to be rather of the *sect*, begun by Potamon, called ἐκλέκτικοί,§ who, adhering to no former sect, chose out of them all what they lik'd best in any of them: at least, I am sure, they do not show such a veneration for Aristotle as is express'd at Queen's Colledge in Oxford; where they read Aristotle on their *knees*, and those who take degrees are *sworn* to defend his philosophy. A Venetian writer pretends to enumerate no less than twelve thousand volumes published in the fourteenth age, about the philosophy of Aristotle; none of ours will add unto the number. For this let the learned reader accept the excuse which their present president, in one of his orations, at the close of their exercises, has helpt us unto:

“*Mihi quidem maximè arridet, quòd vos qui estis in artibus liberalibus initiati, liberum philosophandi modum, potius quam peripateticissimum sapere videmini. Nullus addubito quin Cl.*

the English Universities. Finally, it received the countenance of an illustrious duumvirate—Mr. William Phips, the most august governor of this territory, and Mr. William Stoughton, ex-governor, ever to be honored as our Mæcenæ, whom indeed I revere as the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of this institution, and to whom I look up with profound esteem. When such is the state of things, I see no reason why we should not continue our academic degrees without hesitation and in the usual manner.

\* Propositions, to be defended with all the disputant's ability.

† Questions to be discussed according to the part assigned to the disputant.

‡ Liberal philosophy.

§ Eclectics.



*Gassendi exercitationes vobis non sunt ignotæ, in quibus, quòd apud Aristotelem multa deficiant, multa superfluant, multa fallant, pluribus ostendit. Tritum est illud, qui non vult intelligi debet negligi; nonnulla autem in libris Aristotelis nemo mortalium potest intelligere. Fortur itaque de Hermolao barbaro, quòd Dæmonem ab inferis excitaverit, ut quid Aristoteles per suam ἐντηλέχειαν voluit, exponeret. En egregium Aristotelis interpretem! Quam plurima in ejus scriptis, authoris paganismum redolent: mundum jacet increatum: mortuorum resurrectionem possibilem negat; animam mortalem. Nonnulli Pyrrhonem, qui fuit pater Scepticorum: alii Zenonem, qui fuit pater Stoicorum; multi Platonem qui fuit pater Academicorum, Aristoteli præferunt. Vos autem quibus liberè philosophari contigit, in nullius jurare verba magistri, estis addicti: ast unicum Aristotelis dictum verè aureum, memoriâ teneatis: amicus Plato, amicus Socrates (addo ego amicus Aristoteles) sed magis amica veritas.”\**

They likewise which peruse the questions published by the masters, will find, that as these now and then presume to fly as high as divinity, so their *divinity* is of that *reformed stamp* which carries as frequent confutations of Arminianism with it as are possible: herein condemning those Protestant universities, abroad in the world, which have not preserved the glorious *doctrines of grace* in such purity, as that great party among the Romanists themselves, which go under the name of *Jansenists*. But for this also let their present president be accountable, whose orations at the end of their exercises have uttered such passages as these unto them:

TRANSLATION. It was a grievous complaint of a far-famed scholar, that almost the whole world had run after Pelagius into error. The reason is manifest: for an account of the fall of

\* It is a subject of great gratification to me, that you, who had been initiated in liberal studies, have adopted a *liberal* mode of philosophizing, instead of floating about from school to school, as if you were literally Peripatetics. I doubt not that the essays of Gassendi are familiar to you; in which he demonstrates that many of Aristotle's positions are deficient—others, carried to extremes—others still, fallacious. It is a trite remark, that the writer who cannot be understood, ought to be thrown aside; yet there are some things in Aristotle which no human being can comprehend. Wherefore it is alleged of Hermolaus, an Asiatic, that he exorcised a spirit from hell, to explain to him what Aristotle meant by his *entelecheia* (active development of the faculties). Certainly, an imp would be a fine interpreter of Aristotle! How much that he has written is redolent of the heathenism of its author! He represents the world as uncreated; denies the possibility of a resurrection from the dead and the immortality of the soul. To Aristotle some prefer Pyrrho, founder of the Sceptics, Zeno, founder of the Stoics, Plato, the founder of the Academicians. But you, who are accustomed to philosophize in a *liberal* spirit, are pledged to the formulas of no master: and you should moreover remember that one truly golden sentiment of Aristotle: “Find a friend in Plato, a friend in Socrates,” (and I say, a friend in Aristotle,) “but be sure, above all, to find a friend in truth.”



Adam, and of our sinful race through him, men, as things go, neither think nor judge. All, all are averse to truth and goodness, and inclined to evil and to error. Pelagianism is therefore natural to man in his fallen state, nor can it ever be so effectually rooted out, but that, like the noxious tare, it will spring up again in the soil of a corrupt nature. We see Papists, Socinians, even Arminians, swallowing and consuming the poison of Pelagius concerning the power of free will: although their error was utterly refuted centuries ago by Augustine, and in later times by Luther, in that famous work, entitled *The Will not Free*, and also by innumerable other able writers of the present century. But let Arminianism go, since it is nothing but Neo-Pelagianism. An anagram occurs to me, which, by a transposition of letters, becomes an ingenious definition of the word Arminius: *Jacobus Arminius*, anagrammatized, becomes *vani orbis amicus* (a friend of the vain world): for that very reason, let him not be our friend! We find also in the word *Amyraldus*, *Arminius redivivus* (Arminius, restored to life): for the followers of Amyrault, sometimes called New Schoolmen and Methodists, profess little or nothing but what they have learned from the Arminians, as the renowned Molienus has convincingly shown by numerous proofs. Let then the New Schoolmen go, and let no speck or trace of Arminianism be ever found in our institution. But let our young disputants be accounted worthy of the laurel in proportion to the energy with which they vindicate the truth from the assaults of Arminianism.

And now, I hope that the European churches of the *faithful* will cast an eye of some respect upon a little university in America, recommended by the character that has been thus given of it. Certainly they must be none but enemies to the reformation, the sons of Edom, (which the Jewish Rabbins very truly tell us is the name of Rome in the Sacred Oracles,) that shall say of such an university, "rase it! rase it!"

§ 8. But our account of Harvard College will be rendered more complete, if we do here transcribe the laws of it; which laws, now, Reader, do bespeak thy patience:

STATUTA, LEGES, ET PRIVILEGIA, A PRESIDE ET SOCIIS, COLLEGII HARVARDINI, APUD CATABRIGIENSES IN NOVÂ ANGLIÂ, APPROBATA ET SANCITA; QUIBUS SCHOLARES SIVE STUDENTES, ET ADMISSI ET ADMIITTENDI, AD LITERAS ET BONOS MORES, PROMOVENDUM, SUBJICERE TENENTUR.

1. *Cuicunque fuerit peritia legendi Ciceronem, aut quemvis alium ejusmodi classicum autorem ex tempore et congruè loquendi ac scribendi latinè facultas,*

oratione tam solutâ quàm ligatâ, suo (ut aiunt) Marte, et adunquam inflectendi Græcorum nominum, et verborum paradigmata; hic admissionem in collegium jure potest expectare: quicumque vero destitutus fuerit hâc peritiâ, admissionem sibi neutiquam vindicet.

2. Quicumque in collegium admittuntur, iidem etiam contubernio excipiendi sunt; et unusquisque scholarium æconomo tres libras, cum hospitio accipitur, numerabit; eidem ad finem cujusque trimestris quod debitum erit, solvet: nec licet ulli academico, nondum gradu ornato, convictum extra collegium quærere, nisi veniâ impetratâ à præside, aut suo tutore. Si quis autem hanc præsidis aut tutoris indulgentiam obtinebit, consuetudinem usitatam, fideliter observabit; sin autem aliquis a collegio decedendo, privatam institutionem quæsierit; copiâ à præside, vel a tutoribus illi non factâ, nullo privilegio academico patietur.

3. Dum hic egerint, tempus studiosè redimunt; tam communes omnium scholarium horas, quam suis prælectionibus destinatas, observando.

4. Unusquisque scholarium exercitia omnia scholastica et religiosa, tam publica quam privata, sibi propria præstabit. Adhuc in statu pupillari degentes, sexies quotannis rostra oratoria ascendent. Unaquâque septimanâ bis disputationibus publicis sophistræ interesse debent: cum baccalaurei tum sophistæ, analysin in aliquam S. literarum partem, instituent: baccalaurei singulis semestribus, publicè quæstiones philosophicas sub præsidis moderamine discutient: absente vero præside, duo seniores tutores moderatoris partes alternatim agent.

5. Ne quis sub quovis prætextu, hominum, quorum perditæ ac discincti sunt mores, consuetudine utitor.

6. Nemo in statu pupillari degens, nisi concessâ priùs a præside, vel a tutoribus, veniâ ex oppido exeat: nec quisquam, cujuscunquæ gradûs aut ordinis fuerit, tabernas aut diversoria, ad comessandum, aut bibendum, accedat, nisi ad parentes, curatores, nutricios, aut hujusmodi, accersitus fuerit.

7. Nullus scholaris, nullo parentum curatorum aut tutorum approbante, quidquam emito, vendito, aut commutato; qui autem secùs fecerit, a præside aut tutore, pro delicti ratione mulcabitur.

8. Omnes scholares, a vestibus, quæ fastum aut luxum præ se ferunt, abstineant; nec ulli studenti extra limites academiciæ, sine toga, tunica, vel penula, exire liceat.

9. Omnis scholaris non graduatus, solo cognomine vocetur, nisi sit commensalis, aut equitis primogenitus, vel insigni genere natus.

10. Omnis commensalis, quinque libras in perpetuum academiciæ usum solvet, priusquam in collegium admittatur.

11. Unusquisque scholaris in statu pupillari degens, tutori suo duas libras, at si commensalis, tres libras, per annum dinumerare tenebitur.

12. Nulli ex scholaribus senioribus, solis tutoribus et collegii sociis exceptis, recentem sive juniorem, ad itinerandum, aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum, minis, verberibus; vel aliis verbis impellere licebit. Et si quis non graduatus in hanc legem peccaverit, castigatione corporali, expulsionem vel aliter, prout præsidi cum sociis, visum fuerit punietur.

13. Scholares, cujuscunque conditionis, a lusu alearum vel chartarum pictarum, nec non ab omni lusus genere, in quo de pecuniâ concertatur, abstineant, sub pænâ viginti solidorum toties, quoties, si sit graduatus; vel aliter, pro arbitrio præsidis et tutoris, si non sit graduatus.

14. Siquis scholarium a præcibus, aut prælectionibus abfuerit, nisi necessitate coactus, aut præsidis aut tutoris nactus veniam; admonitioni, aut



aliusmodi, pro præsidis aut tutoris, prudentiâ, pænæ, si plus quam semel in Hebdomade peccaverit, erit obnoxius.

15. Nullus scholaris quâvis de causâ (nisi præmonstrata et approbata præsidi et tutori suo) à studiis, statisve exercitiis abesto: exceptâ semihorâ jentaculo, prandio vero sesquihorâ, concessâ; nec non cænæ usque ad horam nonam.

16. Siquis scholarium ullam Dei aut hujus collegii legem, sive animo perverso, sive ex supinâ negligentia violârit, postquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravioribus pro præsidis aut tutoris prudentia, pænis, coerceatur. In Atrocioribus autem delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, nemo expectet.

17. Quicumque scholaris, probatione habitâ, poterit sacras utriusque testamenti scripturas, de textu originali Latinè Interpretari; et logicè resolvere; fueritque naturalis et moralis philosophiæ principiis imbutus; vitæque et moribus inculpatus; et publicis quibusve comitiis à præside et sociis collegii, approbatus, primo suo gradu possit ornari. Aliter nemo, nisi post triennium et decem menses ab admissione in collegium, ad primum in artibus gradum admittetur.

18. Quicumque scholaris locum habuit communem, scriptamque synopsis, vel compendium logicæ, naturalis et moralis philosophiæ, arithmeticæ, aut astronomiæ, exhibuerit, fueritque ad theses suas defendendas paratus; nec non originalium, ut supra dictum, linguarum, peritus; quem etiamnum morum integritas ac studiorum diligentia cohonestaverint, publicis quibusvis comitiis probatione factâ, secundi gradûs, magisteri nimirum, capax erit.

19. Statutum est, quòd qui theologiæ dat operam, antequam baccalaureatum, in illa facultate consequatur, gradum magisterii in artibus, suscipiat ac sedulò theologicis, et hebraicis lectionibus incumbat; quibus annorum septem dabit operam: quo spatio, bis disputabit contra theologiæ baccalaureum semelque respondebit in theologiâ; concionabitur Latinè semel, et semel Anglicè, vel in templo, vel in aula academiæ: et si, in hoc tempore, in theologia profecerit, per solennem inaugurationem, baccalaureus fiet: hâc tamen cautione servatâ ne quis ante quinquennium completum à suscepto magistrali gradu, concionem hujusmodi habere permittetur.

20. Statutum est, quòd qui cupit in ordinem doctorum theologiæ coöptari, per integrum quinquennium, post susceptum baccalaurei gradum, lectionibus et studiis theologicis dabit operam, et antequam incipiendum, in eadem facultate admittatur, in questionibus theologicis bis opponet, semel respondebit, idque doctori, si commodè fieri poterit; Latinè semel, Anglicè semel, concionabitur in templo, vel in aula academiæ; solenniter sexies legat, et explicet aliquam scripturæ partem, et post solennem inceptionem, semel infrâ annum ipse sibi questionem proponere tenebitur in aulâ academiæ, cujus ambigua et dubitationes, in utramque partem, enucleabit, definiet et determinabit.

21. Statutum est, quòd præter cætera exercitia, pro gradibus theologicis prestanda, unusquisque tam pro theologiæ baccalaureatu, quàm pro doctoratu candidatus, tractatum quendam contra hæresiam vel errorem aliquem grassantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam argumentum (dirigentibus id præside et collegii sociis) pro communi ecclesiarum commodo, in lucem emittere, tenebitur.

22. Gradus academici, qui à præside et curatoribus collegii Harvardinî antehac collati sunt, pro validis habeantur.

23. Unusquisque scholaris harum legum exemplar, à præside et aliquo tutorum subscriptum, sibi comparabit priusquam in collegium admittatur.\*



§ 9. Among the *laws* of Harvard-Colledge thus recited, the reader will find the degrees of a *baccalaureate* and a *doctorate*, in *divinity*, provided for those that, by coming up to terms *beyond* those required in any one European university, shall merit them. Now, though there are divines in the country whose abilities would fully answer the terms thus proposed, yet partly from the *novelty* of the matter itself, which under the former charter was never pretended unto, and partly from the *modesty* of the persons most worthy to have this respect put upon them, there was yet never made among us any of these *promotions*. 'Tis true, these titles are of no very early original; for the occasion of them first arose about the year of our Lord 1135. Lotharius the emperor, having found in Italy a copy of the "Roman civil law," which he was greatly taken withal, he ordained that it should be "pub-

\* STATUTES, LAWS AND PRIVILEGES, APPROVED AND SANCTIONED BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE AT CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND: TO WHICH BOTH SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS, CANDIDATES FOR ADMISSION AS WELL AS THOSE ADMITTED, ARE REQUIRED TO CONFORM, FOR THE PROMOTION OF LEARNING AND GOOD MORALS.

1. Every one competent to read Cicero or any other classic author of that kind extemporaneously, and also to speak and write Latin prose and verse with tolerable skill and without assistance, and of declining the Greek nouns and verbs, may expect to be admitted to the College: if deficient in any of these qualifications, he cannot under any circumstances be admitted.

2. All persons admitted to College must board at the Commons, and must each pay three pounds to the steward on their entrance, and must discharge all arrears at the end of every three months; nor shall any under-graduate of the institution be allowed to board out of College, unless by special permission of the President, or his tutor. If leave to do so shall be granted by either of these officers, the student shall faithfully observe the usual rules of the Commons; but if any ever shall leave College for private quarters, without permission of the President or Tutor, he shall not enjoy any privilege of the institution.

3. While the youth is here, he will be required to be diligent, and to observe study-hours with the same strictness as he does those of public recitation.

4. Every student must regard it as his duty to attend all college exercises, secular and religious, public and private. While in the freshmen class, he must speak in public on the stage eight times a year. Sophisters must be present at a public debate twice a week. Both bachelors and sophisters must write out an analysis in some branch of sacred literature: bachelors will discuss in public philosophical questions once a fortnight, under the superintendence of the President: in the President's absence, the two senior tutors will act as moderator by turns.

5. No one must, under any pretext, be found in the society of any depraved or dissolute person.

6. No one in the lower class shall leave town without express permission from the President or tutors: nor shall any student, to whatever class he may belong, visit any shop or tavern, to eat and drink, unless invited by a parent, guardian, step-parent, or some such relative.

7. No student shall buy, sell or exchange any thing without the approval of his parents, guardians, or tutors. Whoever shall violate this rule, shall be fined by the President or tutor, according to the magnitude of the offence.

8. All students must refrain from wearing rich and showy clothing, nor must any one go out of the college-yard, unless in his gown, coat or cloak.

9. Every under-graduate shall be called by his sur-name only, unless he is a commoner, or the oldest son of a gentleman, or the child of a noble house.

10. Every commoner shall pay five pounds for the perpetual use of the college, before admission.

11. Every scholar in the lower class shall pay his tutor two pounds a year; unless he be a commoner, when he shall pay three pounds a year.

12. No person in a higher class, Tutors and Fellows of the college excepted, shall be allowed to force a freshman or junior to go on errands or do other services, by blows, threats or language of any kind. And any under-graduate who violates this rule, shall be punished

lickly expounded in the schools;" and, that he might give encouragement unto this employment, it was ordained that the public *professors* of this law should be dignified with the style of *doctors*, whereof Bulgarus Hugolinus, with others, was the first. Not long after, this rite of creating doctors was borrowed of the *lawyers* by *divines*, who in their schools publicly taught divinity; and the imitation took place first in Bononia, Paris and Oxford. But I see not why such marks of honour may not be properly given by an American university, as well as an European, to them who, by such *capacity* and *activity* for the service of the churches, do deserve to be so distinguished. Indeed, this university did present their President with a *diploma* for a *doctorate*, under the seal of the colledge, with the hands of the fellows annexed: which, because it is the *first* and the *sole* instance of such a thing done in the whole English America, I will here transcribe it:

by bodily chastisement, expulsion, or such other mode as shall seem advisable to the President and Fellows.

13. Students of all grades are to abstain from dice, cards and every species of gaming for money, under a penalty, in the case of a graduate, of twenty shillings for each offence; and, if the offender is an under-graduate, he shall be liable to punishment, at the discretion of the President and his tutor.

14. If any student is absent from prayers, or recitation, unless necessarily detained, or by permission of the President or a tutor, he shall be liable to an admonition; and, if he commit the offence more than once in a week, to such other punishment as the President or tutor shall assign.

15. No student must be absent from his studies or stated exercises for any reason, (unless it is first made known to the President or tutor, and by them approved) with the exception of the half-hour allowed for lunch, a half-hour for dinner and also for supper, until nine o'clock.

16. If any student shall, either through wilfulness or negligence, violate any law of God or of this college, after being twice admonished, he shall suffer severe punishment, at the discretion of the President or his tutor. But in high-handed offences, no such modified forms of punishment need be expected.

17. Every student who, on trial, shall be able to translate from the original Latin text, and logically to explain the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and shall also be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of natural and moral philosophy, and shall be blameless in life and character, and approved at a public examination by the President and Fellows of the College, may receive the first degree. Otherwise, no one shall be admitted to the first degree in arts, unless at the end of three years and ten months from the time of his admission.

18. Every scholar who has maintained a good standing, and exhibited a written synopsis of logic, natural and moral philosophy, arithmetic and astronomy, and shall be prepared to defend a proposition or thesis; shall also be versed in the original languages, as aforesaid: and who carries with him a reputation for upright character and diligence in study, and shall pass successfully a public examination, shall be admitted to the second, or Master's degree.

19. It is resolved, that those who pursue theology, before they receive a bachelor's degree in that department, shall first obtain a Master's degree in the arts, and shall diligently apply themselves to theological and Hebrew literature, and shall devote seven years to these studies. During this time, the candidate shall hold two discussions with a bachelor of theology, and shall once be a respondent in a theological debate: he shall pronounce one oration in Latin and one in English, either in church or the college-hall. And if by this time he shall become proficient in theology, he shall, with a solemn ceremony, be made a Bachelor. However, this caution should be observed, that no one shall be permitted to pronounce the oration until five years after his admission to the Master's degree.

20. It is resolved, that the person who desires to be admitted into the class of Doctors of Divinity, shall devote himself for five entire years after he has taken his bachelor's degree to a course of theological reading and study, and before his admission in this department, he shall twice defend and once endeavour to refute some theological proposition, if convenient,



*Quum gradus academicos, tam in theologiâ, quam in philosophiâ, pro more academiarum in Angliâ, conferendi potestas, ab amplissimo gubernatore, et a summa Massachusettensis provinciæ curia, secundum sereniss. Regis ac reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ, illis concessa diploma, sit ad nobis commissa: et quoniam vir clarissimus, D. CRESCENTUS MATHERUS, Collegii Harvardini in Novâ Angliâ præses reverendus, libros quam plurimos tam Anglicè quàm Latinè edidit, omnigenâ literaturâ refertos, multisque prætereà modis, non solum in linguis et in artibus liberalibus peritissimum, verum etiam in S. S. scripturis et in theologiâ se ostendit versatissimum; atque per studia et merita verè extraordinaria, non tantum apud Americanas, sed et Europæanas ecclesias commendatissimum se reddidit; proptereà dictum D. CRESENTIUM MATHERUM, doctorali cathedrâ dignum, judicamus, eumque pro autoritate nobis commissâ, S. theologiæ doctorem, nominamus ac renunciamus. In cujus rei testimonium, academiæ sigillum hisce literis affiximus; nos, quorum hic sunt subscripta nomina. Datum Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum die Novembris septimo, anno Domini millesimo, sexcentesimo, nonagesimoque secundo.” \**

Nevertheless, whatever use he may hereafter see cause to make of this instrument, he hath hitherto been willing to wear no other title than what formerly he had in the catalogue of our graduates, which is the next thing that my reader is to be entertained withal.

§ 10. Reader, the sons of Harvard are going to present them-

against a Doctor of theology. He shall pronounce one oration in Latin and one in English in a church, or the college-hall; he shall six times publicly read and explain some portion of Scripture; and after a solemn initiation, shall be obliged once in a year to propound a question in the college-hall, and to elucidate, define, and decide its ambiguities and points of doubt, as presented on both sides.

21. It is determined, that in addition to other exercises to be attended to by candidates for degrees in theology, every one of them, no matter to which degree he is looking, shall be obliged to publish, for the common benefit of the churches, and under the direction of the President and Fellows, some tract against heresy or an existing error, or some other useful argument.

22. Academic degrees, heretofore conferred by the President and Fellows of Harvard college, shall be holden to be valid.

23. Every student shall obtain a copy of these laws, signed by the President or some one of the tutors, upon his admission to college.

\* Whereas the power of conferring academic degrees both in theology and philosophy, according to the custom of the English Universities, has been confided to us by our most excellent governor and the high court of the Province of Massachusetts, according to the Charter granted to them by their Most Serene Majesties, the King and Queen William and Mary: and whereas that most distinguished man, Mr. Increase Mather, the venerable President of Harvard College in New England, has published many books in English and in Latin, replete with the most varied learning, and is moreover most accomplished in literature and the liberal arts, and also admirably versed in the sacred Scriptures and theological lore, and has obtained for himself by his acquirements and extraordinary merits a great reputation, not only in America, but in Europe: We therefore deem the said Increase Mather worthy of the Doctorate, and, according to the authority vested in us, pronounce and declare him a Doctor of Divinity. In testimony whereof, we whose names are hereunto subscribed have to these presents affixed the seal of the college. Dated at Cambridge in New England, on the seventh day of November, A. D. 1692.



selves in order before thee. The catalogue pretends not unto such numbers as Osiander will find for us in the Academy of Tubinga, which yielded more than four thousand masters, *Inter quos erant magna Nomina et Lumina*;\* nor such numbers as Howel reports of Paris, where there have been known at one time twenty thousand—yea, thirty thousand students; nor such numbers as Alsted reports of Prague, where the University had at once *forty-four thousand foreigners*, that were students in it, besides the native Bohemians. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that here are pretty competent numbers for a poor wilderness in its infancy; and a *poor wilderness* indeed it had been, if the cultivations of such a Colledge had not been bestowed upon it. In the perusal of this catalogue, it will be found that, besides a supply of ministers for our churches from this happy seminary, we have hence had a supply of magistrates, as well as physicians, and other gentlemen, to serve the commonwealth with their capacities. Yea, the considerable names of Stoughton and Dudley, in this list, have been advanced unto the chief place in government; nor has the country sent over agents to appear at Whitehall for any of its interests upon any occasion, for more than these thirty years, but what had their education in this nursery. It will be also found that Europe, as well as America, has from this learned seminary been enriched with some worthy men; among whom I will rather choose to omit the mention of Sir George Downing, who occurs in the first class of our graduates, than reckon him with a company so disagreeable to him as the rest, that were many of them afterwards famous ministers of the gospel in England and Ireland. *Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.*† It will be likewise found, that not a few of these “Harvardians” have by their published writings been useful unto the world. That excellent man, who is the leader of this whole company, and who was a “star of the first magnitude” in his constellation, to wit, Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, an eminent herald of Heaven at Salisbury, and afterwards at Newbury in England, and (after the “act of uniformity” and the persecution following hereupon creepled him,) in several other places, as he had opportunity. He wrote several considerable treatises about justification; as, also, “against the unwarrantable practice of private Christians in usurping the office of public preaching;” and, as the scoffing Wood acknowledges, “he was accounted among the brethren a learned and a mighty man.” After him

\* Among whom were great names and great lights.

† They do not agree well, and cannot stay in the same place.

we have had, besides those whose lives are anon to be written, many others that by *writing* have made themselves to *live*; and not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathanael Mather, an Hoar, a Rowlandson, a Nowel, a Whiting, an Hooker, a Moodey, an Eleazar Mather, a Richardson, a Thacher, an Adams, a Saltonstal, a Walter, the authors of lesser composures, out of their modest studies, even as with a Cæsarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chancey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures. Yea, the present President of the Colledge has obliged the public with more than *thirty* several treatises of diverse matters, and figures, and in diverse languages. 'Tis true, there is one more among the sons of this colledge, that might already bring in a catalogue of more than three-score several books, which the press has had from him; nevertheless, as Ronsard the French poet, upon reading of Du-Bartas' WEEKS, would say, *Monsieur Du Bartas a fait plus en une Semaine, que Je n'ay fait en toute ma vite*: "Du Bartas has done more in one week, than I have done in all the days of my life:" so it must be acknowledged that *three* composures of one writer may be more valuable than *threescore* of another. Nor, indeed, must be enumerated among the least blessings of New-England, that it has been, above all the rest of the English America, furnished with presses, from which it has had, a thousand ways, the benefits of that art of printing: a gift of heaven, whereof Beroaldus well sang:

*Quo nil Utilius dedit Vetustas,  
Libros Scribere quæ doces premendo.\**

Finally, if Harvard be now asked, as once Jesse was, "Are here all thy sons?" it must be answered, *no*: for upon a dissatisfaction, about a hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a year of the time, whereupon they claimed their degree (about the year 1655,) there was a considerable number, even seventeen of the scholars, which went away from the Colledge without any degree at all. Nevertheless, this disaster hindred not their future serviceableness in the churches of the faithful, and some of them indeed proved extraordinary serviceable: among whom it would be criminal for me to forget Mr. William Brimsmead, Pastor at this day to the church of Malborough; and Mr. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth, (of whose there are published three sermons, which at so many several times were preached at the anniversary elections of magistrates.) And unto these I may add Mr. Samuel Wake-

\* Best gift of ancient times—the Press.

man, the pastor to the church of Fairfield, of whom we have three or four several sermons published.

What now remains is to look over our catalogue; and then single out some subjects for a more particular biography. Only, while I carry in my *reader* to speak with them, the *writer* himself (solicitous that the name which Philo Judæus puts upon a colledge; namely, *Διδασκαλειον συμπασης ἀρετης* or “a school of all virtue,” may ever and justly be the name of Harvard colledge,) will take the leave to address their successors with certain admonitions, translated from no less than a national synod of the Protestant churches in France. The last national synod, that sat before the dissipation of those renowned churches, after the other and many cares which the former most venerable assemblies took of their universities, by their decree, earnestly exhorted the governors of the universities to exert all their power “for the suppression of abuses crept in among them, redounding to the disgrace of religion, and opening the flood-gates to the deluge of profaneness, to break in upon the sanctuary,” and under severe penalties enjoined the scholars, but most especially the students in divinity, “to keep themselves at the greatest distance from such things as are contrary to Christian modesty and sanctity, and to perfume the house of God betimes with the sweet odours of an early religious conversation, every way becoming the sacred employment whereto they be designed. Now, when we have transcribed some of the excellent words used by Monsieur Guittou, at the presenting of this decree to the university of Saumur, we will without any further delay give our catalogue leave to appear before us:

“You have consecrated your labours, your time, your whole man, unto the service of the sovereign monarch of the whole world; that Lord, who is ador’d by all the angels. Your own consciences, sirs, as well as mine, must needs tell you, you cannot bring with you too much *humility*, nor too much *self-abasement*, nor too much *self-annihilation*, nor too much *simplicity* and *sincerity*, when you come into His presence, whose eyes are a ‘flaming fire,’ and who ‘searcheth your hearts and trieth your reins;’ and offer yourselves to be enroll’d in the number of his *menial servants* and *gospel-ministers*.

“To be short, sirs, you are destinated unto an employment in which there be no advancements made but by prayers; and prayers are never heard nor answered by God, further than they be *sincere*; and they be not in the least sincere, where the *hearts* are not guided and purified by the truth of God’s holy word and spirit, who dictateth our prayers, and quickneth and sanctifieth our affections. Do you imagine, sirs, that God will give you his *holy spirit*, without whom you are nothing and can do nothing, unless you ask him of God? And are you then qualified and fitted for prayer, a most holy duty, when as your spirit is stuffed up, occupied and distracted with your youthful lusts, and replenished with the provoking



objects of your vanity? Or, can you bring unto this sacred ordinance, unto this most religious exercise, that *attention*, *assiduity* and *perseverance*, which is needful to the getting of gracious answers and returns from Heaven, when as the better and far greater part of your *time* is consumed in worldly companies and conversations? Certainly, sirs, you *will* find it exceedingly difficult to disentangle yourselves from those impressions you have *first* received, and to empty yourselves of the vanities you have imbibed, that you may be at liberty to reflect and meditate upon God's holy word.

"My dear brethren, honour and adorn that profession whereto you are devoted, and it will *reflect* beams of honour again upon you. Consider, sirs, what is becoming you, and God will communicate what is needful for you, to ev'ry one of you. Let his *name* and *glory* be the principal mark and butt of your conditions and studies, and it will bring down the choicest and chiefest of blessings of God upon you. Let your lives and conversations be accompanied and crowned with all the virtues and graces of *reformed* Christians; with that humility which becometh the servants of God; with that universal modesty and simplicity which God requireth from the ministers of his sanctuary, in their lives, actions, habits, language, behaviour, and in your whole course. And then, sirs, this your sanctification will be most acceptable unto God and saving unto yourselves; it will bring your *profession* into credit and reputation; it will attract upon you the best *blessings* of Heaven; it will render your studies and employments prosperous, successful and edifying; the churches will be the better for you, and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ will be by you promoted and advanced."

To these admonitions of Monsieur Guitton, I will only for a farewell, unto every scholar now address'd, subjoin that where-with Mr. Carter took his leave of a scholar: *Fuge fastum, ignavium et antichristum.\**

Our CATALOGUE is now, without any further ceremony, to be produced; a catalogue of Christian students, instructed in those, which the other day were *pagan* regions; a catalogue, whereof I may therefore say, as the historian does of the temple built by Constantine, it is τὸ πᾶσιν ευκταῖον, Καὶ ποθεύμενον θέαμα—To all good men, a desirable spectacle.

[Here follows in Mather a catalogue of those who received degrees from Harvard College, Cambridge, New England, between the years 1642 and 1698—417 names.]

We will conclude our catalogue of the graduates in this collodge with the elegy which the venerable Mr. John Wilson made upon its founder.

IN PIENTISSIMUM, REVERENDISSIMUMQUE VIRUM,

JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,

È SUGGESTIO SACRO CAROLOENSI AD COELOS EVECTUM,

AD ALUMNOS CANTABRIENSES LITERATOS, PÖEMA.

\* Avoid pride, sloth, and antichrist.

## JOHANNES HARVARDUS.

ANAGR.—SI NON (AH!) SURDA AURE.

*En, mihi fert animus, patroni nomine vestri  
(Si non, (ah!) surdâ spernitur aure) loqui*

*Sic ait.*

*Me Deus, immenso per Christum motus amore,  
Ad Cælos servum jussit abire suum.  
Parebam; monituque Dei præeunte parabam  
Quicquid ad optatum sufficiebat opus.  
Me (licet indignum) selegit gratia Christi,  
Fundarem musis, qui pia tecta piis.  
(Non quôd vel charâ, moriens uxore carerem,  
Aut hæres alius quôd mihi nullus erat:)  
Hæredes vos ipse meos, sed linquere suasit,  
Usque ad dimidium sortis opumque Deus.  
Me commune bonum, præsertim gloria Christi,  
Impulit et charæ posteritatis amor:  
Sat ratus esse mihi sobolis, pietatis amore  
Educat illustres si schola nostra viros.  
Hæc mihi spes (vitâ morienti dulcior olim)  
Me recreat, Cæli dum requiete fruor.  
At si degeneres liqueat vos esse (quod absit!)—  
Otia si studiis sint potiora bonis:  
Si nec doctrinâ, nec moribus estis honestis  
Imbuti, (fastu non leviores tamen.)  
Grata sit aut vobis, si secta vel hæresis ulla,  
Vos simul inficiens, vos, dominique gregem:  
Hæc mihi patrono quàm sunt contraria vestro!  
Atque magis summo displicitura Deo!  
Nec tamen ista meo sic nomine dicier opto,  
Mens quasi promittat non meliora mihi!  
Gaudia Cælorum vix me satiare valerent,  
Si tanta orbatus, speque, fideque forem.  
Ille Deus vobis, vestrisque laboribus, almam,  
Et dedit, et porrô suppeditabit opem.  
Ejus in obsequio, sic, O! sic, pergite cuncti,  
Ut fluat hinc major gloria lausque Deo.  
At si quis recto malé sit de tramite gressus  
(Quod David, et Solomon, et Petrus ipse queat.)  
Hic sibi né placeat, monitus neque ferre recuset,  
In rectam possint qui revocare viam.  
Sic grati vos este Deo! vestrique labores  
Quos olim in Christo suscipietis erunt.  
Utque vetus meruit sibi Cantabrigia nomen,  
Sic nomen fiet dulce feraxque novæ.*

JOHANNES WILSONUS.

VERBA DOCT. ARROWSMITH, IN ORAT. ANTIWEIGELIANA.—*Faxit Deus optimus, maximus, tenacem adeo veritatis hanc academiam, ut deinceps in Angliâ lupum, in Hibernia bufonem, invenire facilius sit, quàm aut Sociinianum, aut Arminianum in Cantabrigia.*

[TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.]

TO THE MOST PIOUS AND REVEREND JOHN HARVARD,  
BORNE FROM THE SACRED DESK AT CHARLESTOWN TO THE SKIES.  
A POEM, ADDRESSED TO THE LEARNED ALUMNI OF CAMBRIDGE.

## JOHN HARVARD.

Your patron's voice my eager spirit hears—  
Nay! spurn it not with dull and listless ears.

*He speaks.*

God, through the boundless mercy of his Son,  
Called to my Spirit—sweetly led me on—  
Filled me with strength divine, and showed the way  
Which made life blessed to its latest day.  
That call I heeded: though unworthy still,  
I strove to do my heavenly Master's will;  
Chosen of God to found, through grace Divine,  
For Christian Learning an enduring shrine.  
Not that no spouse sustained my fainting head,  
Or loving children watched my dying bed;—  
These I remembered, yet a half of all  
I gave to you who throng this sacred hall.  
The common weal, the glory of my God,  
The love of man—these lured me where I trod.  
Strong was my faith—'twas all I asked—that ye  
Would shine as lights of truth and piety.  
This hope, in life so blessed, adds a zest  
To the high pleasures of this heavenly rest.  
But if, degenerate, ye shall ever find  
Sloth dearer than the riches of the mind;  
If, losing virtue, nought is left beside  
A bloated ignorance, inflamed by pride;  
If darling heresies delight afford,  
And ye deny your conscience and your Lord,  
How will ye spurn the path your founder trod—  
How tempt a covenant-keeping God!  
Yet blend not thoughts like these with thoughts of me;  
A better fortune seem these eyes to see.  
Nay! Heaven itself could scarce suffice my heart,  
If hope like this should languish and depart.  
Thus far our God each pure endeavour cheers,  
And will supply the strength of future years.  
Walk by His light, His wisdom and His will—  
He shall reveal a brighter glory still.  
And if, like David's—Peter's—from the way  
Of virtue any heedless foot shall stray,  
Yet if, like them, the wanderer shall repent,  
Our God doth pardon every penitent.  
To Him be glory! to his glory, too,  
Do whatsoe'er your hands shall find to do.  
And as old Cambridge well deserved its name,  
May the new Cambridge win as pure a fame.

JOHN WILSON.



WORDS OF DR. ARROWSMITH IN HIS ANTIWEIGELIAN ORATION.—May the great and good God grant, that this college shall be so tenacious of the truth, that it will be easier to find a wolf in England and a snake in Ireland, than either a Socinian or Arminian in Cambridge!

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Cotton Mather was born in Boston in 1663, and died in 1728. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1678, when scarcely sixteen years of age. The first edition of his *Magnalia*, in which his History of Harvard College was included, was published in London in 1702. The first American edition was published at Hartford, Conn., in 1820; the second edition, with introduction and notes by Thomas Robbins, D.D., translations of the quotations by Lucius F. Robinson, and a memoir by Samuel G. Drake, about thirty years afterwards. This edition is used for the present leaflet. The History of Harvard College in the *Magnalia* is followed by brief biographies of ten eminent early graduates.

There are two valuable modern lives of Cotton Mather, by Rev. A. P. Marvin and Barrett Wendell. The biography in Sparks is by W. B. O. Peabody, and there is an older biography by Samuel Mather. The chapter on "The Mather Family and its Influence," by Rev. Henry M. Dexter, in the Memorial History of Boston, vol. ii., is important. See the section on Mather and the *Magnalia* in Jameson's "Historical Writing in America"; also the chapter in Moses Coit Tyler's History of American Literature, vol. ii. In connection with this History of Harvard College, see the early chapters of Quincy's History of Harvard University, and the historical sketch by Samuel Eliot in the first volume of the "Harvard Book." Concerning John Harvard, see Henry C. Shelley's "John Harvard and his Times" and the article on "John Harvard's English Homes and Parentage" in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, June, 1907, by Henry F. Waters, whose remarkable researches, published in 1885, first gave us the facts concerning Harvard's early life.

Cotton Mather's History of Harvard College is the completest account of the founding and first years of the college to be found in any work of equally early date. Old South Leaflet 185 is a reprint of Mather's lives of the first two presidents of Harvard, Henry Dunster and Charles Chauncy. Leaflet No. 51 is a reprint of the famous pamphlet, "New England's First Fruits in Respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay," published in London in 1643, the year following the graduation of the first Harvard class of nine members,—the oldest extant document which in type clearly recognizes the existence of Harvard College. No. 160 is a reprint of Farmer's "Memorials of the First Graduates of Harvard College."

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# The First Two Presidents of Harvard College.

By COTTON MATHER.

PSALTES.\* THE LIFE OF MR. HENRY DUNSTER.

Notwithstanding the veneration which we pay to the *names* and *works* of those reverend men, whom we call *the fathers*, yet even the Roman Catholicks themselves confess, that those fathers were not infallible. Andradius, among others, in his defence of the Council of Trent, has this passage: "There can be nothing devised more superstitious, than to count all things delivered by the fathers *divine oracles*." And, indeed, it is plain enough that those excellent men were not without *errors* and *frailties*, of which, I hope, it will not be the part of a *cham* to take some little notice. Thus, Jerom had his erroneous opinion of Peter's being unjustly reprehended; and was fearfully *asleep* in the other matters, wherein he opposed Vigilantius. Augustine was for admitting the *infants* of Christians unto the Lord's Supper: and, alas! how much of Babylon is there in his best book, "*De Civitate Dei*." † Hilary denied the *soul-sorrows* of our Lord in his passion, if you will believe the report of Bellarmine. Clemens Alexandrinus affirmed that our Lord neither *eat* nor *drank* from the necessities of human life; and that he and his apostles, after their death, preached unto the *damned* in hell, of whom there were many converted. Origen taught many things contrary unto the *true faith*, and frequently confounded the Scriptures with false expositions. Tertullian fell into Montanism, and forbad all *second marriages*. How little agreement was there between Epiphanius and Chrysostom, Irenæus and Victor, Cornelius and Cyprian?

\* The Psalmist.

† The City of God.

And, indeed, that I may draw near to my present purpose, the erroneous opinion of *rēbaptism* in Cyprian, is well known to the world.

Wherefore it may not be wondred at if, among the first *fathers* of New-England, there were some things not altogether so agreeable to the *principles* whereupon the country was in the main established. But among those of our fathers who differed somewhat from his brethren, was that learned and worthy man Mr. Henry Dunster.

He was the president of our Harvard College in Cambridge, and an able man: [as we may give some account, when the history of that college comes to be offered.]

But wonderfully falling into the errors of Antipædo baptism, the *overseers* of the college became solicitous that the students there might not be unawares ensnared in the errors of their president. Wherefore they laboured with an extreme agony, either to rescue the good man from his *own mistakes*, or to restrain him from imposing them upon *the hope of the flock*, of both which, finding themselves to despair, they did, as quietly as they could, procure his *removal*, and provide him a successor, in Mr. Charles Chauncey.

He was a very good Hebrician, and for that cause he bore a great part in the metrical version of the Psalms, now used in our churches. But after some short retirement and secession from all publick business, at Scituate, in the year 1659, he went thither, where he bears his part in everlasting and cælestial *hallelujahs*. It was justly counted an instance of an *excellent spirit*, in Margaret Meering, that though she had been excommunicated by the congregation of Protestants, whereof Mr. Rough was pastor, and she seemed to have hard measure also in her excommunication; yet when Mr. Rough was imprisoned for the truth, she was very serviceable to him, and at length suffered martyrdom for the truth with him. Something that was not altogether unlike this "excellent spirit" was instanced by our Dunster. For he died in such *harmony* of affection with the good men who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he, by his will, ordered his body to be carried unto Cambridge for its burial, and bequeathed *legacies* to those very persons.

Now, I know not where, better than here, to insert that article of our church-history, which concerns our *metrical translation* of the PSALMS now sung in our churches.

About the year 1639, the New-English reformers, considering that their churches enjoyed the other ordinances of Heaven



in their scriptural purity, were willing that the ordinance of "The singing of psalms," should be restored among them unto a share in that *purity*. Though they blessed God for the religious endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into the *meetre* usually annexed at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the translation so many *detractions* from, *additions* to, and *variations* of, not only the text, but the very *sense* of the psalmist, that it was an offence unto them. Resolving then upon a new translation, the chief divines in the country took each of them a portion to be translated: among whom were Mr. Welds and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester. These, like the rest, were of so different a *genius* for their poetry, that Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, on the occasion addressed them to this purpose:

You Roxb'ry poets, keep clear of the crime  
Of missing to give us very good rhyme.  
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,  
But with the text's own words, you will them strengthen.

The Psalms thus turned into *meetre* were printed at Cambridge, in the year 1640. But, afterwards, it was thought that a little more of art was to be employed upon them: and for that cause, they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who revised and refined this translation; and (with some assistance from one Mr. Richard Lyon, who being sent over by Sir Henry Mildmay, as an attendant unto his son, then a student in Harvard College, now resided in Mr. Dunster's house:) he brought it into the condition wherein our churches ever since have used it.

Now, though I heartily join with those gentlemen who wish that the *poetry* hereof were mended; yet I must confess, that the Psalms have never yet seen a *translation*, that I know of, nearer to the Hebrew *original*; and I am willing to receive the excuse which our translators themselves do offer us, when they say:

"If the verses are not always so elegant as some desire or expect, let them consider that God's altar needs not our polishings; we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase. We have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than ingenuity; that so we may sing in Zion the Lord's songs of praise, according unto his own will, until he bid us enter into our Master's joy, to sing eternal hallelujahs."

Reader, when the reformation in France began, Clement Marot and Theodore Beza turned the Psalms into French *meetre*, and

Lewis Guadimel set melodious tunes unto them. The singing hereof charmed the souls of court and city, town and country. They were sung in the Lovre it self, as well as in the Protestant churches: ladies, nobles, princes—yea, King Henry himself—sang them. This one thing mightily contributed unto the downfall of Popery, and the progress of the gospel. All ranks of men practised it; a gentleman of the reformed religion would not eat a meal without it. The popish clergy raging hereat, the cardinal of Lorrain got the profane and obscene *odes* of the pagan poets to be turned into French, and sang at the court; and the Divine Psalms were thus banished from that wicked court.

Behold, the reformation pursued in the churches of New-England by the Psalms in a new *meetre*: God grant the reformation may never be lost while the Psalms are sung in our churches!

But in this matter, Mr. Dunster is to be acknowledged. And if unto the Christian, while singing of Psalms on earth, Chrysostom could well say, Μετ' Ἀγγέλων ᾄδεις, μετ' Ἀγγέλων ἱμνεῖς—*Thou art in a consort with angels!*—how much more may that *now* be said of our Dunster?

From the epitaph of Henricus Rentzius, we will now furnish our Henry Dunster with an

EPITAPH.

*Præco, Pater, Servus; Sonni, Fovi, Coluique;  
Sacra, Scholam, Christum; Voce, Rigore, Fide;  
Famam, Animam, Corpus; Dispergit, Recreat, Abdit;  
Virtus, Christus, Humus; Laude, Salute, Sinu.\**

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CADMUS AMERICANUS.† THE LIFE OF MR. CHARLES  
CHANCEY.

*Suadet Lingua. Jubet Vita.‡*

§ 1. There was a famous person in times, by chronological computation, as ancient as the days of Joshua, known by the name of Cadmus; who carried not only *people*, but *letters* also, from Phœnitia into Bœotia. The Grecian fable of a *serpent*, in the story of Cadmus, was only derived from the name of an Hivite,

\*A preacher, I have chanted sacred songs: a father [president of a college], I have instructed my charge with perseverance: a servant of Christ, I have followed my Master with fidelity. Virtue signalizes my name with true praise: Christ redeems my soul with his salvation: the earth hides my body in its bosom.

† The American Cadmus.

‡ His tongue advises, and his life persuades.

which by his nation belonged unto him; for an *Hivite* signifies a *serpent* in the language of Syria. This renowned Cadmus was indeed a Gibeonite, who having been well treated by Joshua, and by Joshua not only continued in the comforts of life, but also instructed and employed in the service of the true God, he retained ever after most honourable sentiments of that great commander. Yea, when after ages, in their songs, praised Apollo for his victory over the dragon Pytho, they uttered but the disguised songs of Canaan, wherein this Cadmus had celebrated the praises of Joshua for his victory over Og the King of Bashan. Cadmus having been (as one of the Greek poets writes of him) educated in Hebron or Debir, the universities of Palestine, was fitted thereby to be a leader in a great undertaking; and when the oppression of Cushanrishathaim caused a number of people to seek out *new seats*, there were many who, under the conduct of Cadmus, transported themselves into Greece, where the notions and customs of an Israelitish original were therefore a long while preserved, until they were confounded with Pagan degeneracies. There is reason to think that a colony of Hebrews themselves did now *swarm* out into Peloponnesus, where the book of Maccabees will help us to find Lacedemonians (or Cadmonians, that is, the followers of Cadmus, in their true etymology) “of the stock of Moraham;” and we know that Strabo tells us that Cadmus had Arabians (and the Israelites were by such heathen writers accounted so) in his company. Accordingly, when we read that a *college* among the old Grecians was called *academia*, we may soon inform our selves that it was at first called Cadmia or Cadmea in commemoration of Cadmus the Phœnician; to whom those parts of the world were first beholden for such nurseries of good literature and religion.

These researches into antiquity had not in this place been laid before my reader, if they might not have served as an *introduction* unto this piece of New-English history; that when some ecclesiastical oppressions drove a colony of the truest Israelites into the remoter parts of the world, there was an academy quickly founded in that colony: and our Chancey was the Cadmus of that academy; by whose vast labour and learning the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, served by all the human sciences, hath been conveyed unto posterity.

It is now fit that a few memoirs of that reverend man should fill our pages.

§ 2. Mr. Charles Chancey was an Hartfordshire man; born in



the year 1589, of parents that were both honourable and religious. Being sent from thence to Westminster-school, his hopeful proficiency in good literature, within a short while, ripened him for the university. And it was one thing which caused him to have the more feeling resentments of the famous Powder-Plot, the *report* whereof will make a *noise* as long as the fifth of November is in our kalendar; that at the time when that plot should have taken its horrid effect, he was at that school, which must also have been blown up, if the Parliament-house had perished. The university of Cambridge was that which afterward instructed and nourished this eminent person, and fitted him for the service wherein he had opportunity afterwards to demonstrate that he was indeed such a person. The particular college whereof he was here a member, was Trinity College; by the same token, that in the *Lachrymæ Cantabrigienses*,\* published by the Cantabrigians, on the death of Queen Ann, I find him in that style composing and subscribing one of the most witty Latin poems in that whole collection. Here he proceeded Batchelour of Divinity: and having an intimate acquaintance with that great man Dr. Usher, whom all men have confessed worthy of the character wherewith Voetus mentions him, *Vastæ Lectionis et eruditionis Theologus, inque antiquitate Ecclesiastica Versatissimus*,† he had hereby an opportunity farther to advantage himself with the ancient monuments in King James' library.

§ 3. By the head of the houses he was chosen *Hebrew*-professor; but the Vice-Chancellour, Dr. Williams, preferring a kinsman of his own to that place, at the same time he put our Mr. Chancey into the place of *Greek*-professor; and as one well known to be an accurate *Grecian*, it was *he* that afterwards was the C. C. the *Vir Doctissimus et Piissimus*,‡ whose ἐπικρισις § you have at the beginning of Leigh's "*Critica Sacra*" upon the New Testament. He was indeed a person incomparably well skilled in all the learned languages, especially in the Oriental, and eminently in the Hebrew, in his obtaining whereof his conversation with a Jew for the space of a year was no little advantage to him. I know that the Hebrew tongue, as an exception to the general rule, *Difficilia quæ Pulchra*,|| is more *easily attained* than any that I have yet observed; and

\* The tears of Cambridge.

† A theologian of great reading and acquirements, admirably versed in the antiquities of the church.

‡ Most learned and pious man.

§ Critical estimate.

|| The most beautiful studies are the most difficult.

hence we see even our English women, sometimes in a *little while*, and with a *little pains*, grown as expert at it as the ladies Pausa or Blasilla, by Jerom therefore celebrated; and I have wished that many in the world were more moved by those words of a worthy author, *Ausim spondere, illos qui Studiis Hebraicis tantum Temporis Impenderent, quantum Tubulo Nicotianæ imbibendo, (quo nunc pars bona Studiosorum pro Hydragogo uti consuevit) tum Mane, tum Vesper, impendi solet, progressus in huiusce Linguae Cognitione haud Vulgares brevi esse facturos, adeo ut mirentur, se esse tum doctos, antequam Didicerint.\** Nevertheless, this tongue is as easily *forgotten*. But being once *attained*, and therewithal *preserved* and *improved*, good men will find as our Mr. Chancey did that the conjunct *profit* and *pleasure* of it were inexpressible; and that the *talents* wherewith it would furnish them to do so many services for the Church of God, were such as to make them join with Luther in his protestation, “That he would not part with his knowledge of the Hebrew for many thousands of pounds;” or to approve the (usual) modest words of Melancthon, “*Scio me vix primis Labris degustasse Hebraicas Literas; sed tamen hoc Ipsum, quod didici quantulumcunque est, propter Judicium de Religione, Omnibus Mundi Regnis omnium que opibus Longe antepono.*” †

§ 4. When he left the university, he became a diligent and eminent preacher of the gospel at Marston; but after some time he removed himself to Ware, where the “hand of the Lord was with him, and many believed, and turned unto the Lord.” Here it was that the successes of his faithful ministry, in the *instruction* of the ignorant and the *conversion* of the ungodly, became a matter of much observation.

But when Satan wanted a *Shibboleth* for the discovering and extinguishing such an holy ministry throughout the nation, the miserable Arch-Bishop Laud served him with a license for *sports* on the *Lord’s day*; whereby the people were after an horrid manner invited unto the profanation of that sacred rest; and indeed of everything *sacred* with it. Then it was that our Mr. Chancey, hearing the *drums* beat for *dances* and *frolicks* on the Lord’s day,

\* I would dare to promise, that if students will devote to the study of the Hebrew tongue as much time at morning and evening as some persons spend in smoking their tobacco-pipes, (which, by the way, a good share of our students now-a-days use for an absorbent,) they will make such uncommon progress in the mastery of the language, that they will be surprised at the proficiency which they have unconsciously attained.

† I know I have scarcely touched Hebrew Literature with my lips; but nevertheless I prefer my very trifling acquaintance with it, as a key to religious knowledge, to all the kingdoms of the world and the riches of the universe.

was, like other good men, afraid that God would break the *rest* of the kingdom, and cause *drums* to be beaten up for *marches* and *battels* on that very day. But when he was inhibited from attending of other exercises, on the afternoons of the Lord's day he set himself to *catechise* as many as he could, both old and young; which, as the *bishop* in *sheeps' cloathing* said, was "as bad as preaching." And by such methods he still continued serving the interests of the gospel.

§ 5. But about this time there arose a storm of most unreasonable, but irresistible *persecution* upon those ministers who were well-wishers to the *progress* of the Protestant reformation in the kingdom; and Mr. Chancey was one of those who suffered in it. In Mr. Rushworth's collections for the year 1629, I find this passage:

"Mr. Charles Chancey, minister of Ware, using some expressions in his sermon, that 'Idolatry was admitted into the church;' that 'the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed;' that 'there is much Atheism, Popery, Arminianism and Heresy, crept into the church:' and this being looked upon to raise a fear among the people that some alteration of religion would ensue; he was questioned in the High Commission; and by order of that court the cause was referred to the Bishop of London, being his ordinary; who ordered him to make a *submission* in Latin."

This worthy man being, by the terrors and censures of that infamous court, suddenly surprised unto a sort of *submission*, which gave too good an acknowledgment of the constitution, whereinto the Laudian faction was then precipitating the Church of England, he no sooner got a little out of the *temptation*, but he signalized his *repentance* of that submission, with a *zeal* not unlike that of the blessed Cranmer against his own *right hand* for subscribing his *recantation*. Although he was not long without the faith of his having this his too sudden compliance with the demands of his persecutors "forgiven in heaven," yet he never forgave himself as long as he lived on earth; he would on all occasions express himself extremely dissatisfied, as well at the *ill things* then advanced in the Church of England, as at himself also for ever in the least, consenting to those things. Those memorable Puritans which were driven into America, all of them had a dislike of the *deformities* which they saw yet cleaving to the Church of England; but I question whether any disliked them with such fervent expressions of indignation as our Mr. Chancey, who thus took the *revenges* of a deep *repentance* upon his own conformity to them. And few suffered for non-conformity



more than he, by *fines*, by *gaols*, by necessities to *abscond*, and at last by an *exile* from his native country. Yea, though he had lived a very exact life, yet when he came to die, more than forty years after this, he left these words in his last will and testament:

“In regard of corrupt nature, I do acknowledge my self to be a child of wrath, and sold under sin, and one that hath been polluted with innumerable transgressions and mighty sins, which, as far as I know and can call to remembrance, I keep still fresh before me, and desire with mourning and self abhorring still to do, as long as life shall last; and especially my so many sinful compliances with and conformity unto vile human inventions, and will-worship, and hell-bred superstition, and patcheries sticht into the service of the Lord, (which the English Mass book, I mean, the ‘Book of Common Prayer,’ and the ‘Ordination of Priests,’ &c., are fully fraught withal.)”

§ 6. There was once a Parliament in England, whereto a speech of no less a man than the Lord Digby made a complaint, “that men of the best conscience were then ready to fly into the wilderness for religion:” and it was complained in an elegant speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyard’s, “A great multitude of the King’s subjects, striving to hold communion with us, but seeing how far we were gone, and fearing how much farther we would go, were forced to fly the land, very many into salvage wildernesses, because the land would not bear them: do not they that cause these things cast a reproach upon the government?” And in a notable speech of Mr. Fiennes, “a certain number of ceremonies, in the judgment of some men unlawful, and to be *rejected of all churches*, in the judgment of all other *reformed churches*, and in the judgment of our own church, but *indifferent*, yet what *difference*—yea, what *distraction* have these *indifferent* ceremonies raised among us? What hath deprived us of so many thousands of Christians, which desired, and in all other respects deserved to hold communion with us; I say, what hath deprived us of them, and scattered them into I know not what places and corners of the world, but these *indifferent ceremonies*?” It was then that Mr. Pym, in the name of the House of Commons, impeaching A. B. Laud, before the House of Lords had these expressions: “You have the King’s loyal subjects banished out of the kingdom, not as Elimelech, to seek for bread in foreign countries, by reason of the great scarcity which was in Israel; but travelling abroad for the bread of life, because they could not have it at home, by reason of the *spiritual famine* of God’s word, caused by this man and his partakers: and by this means you have the industry of

many thousands of his majesty's subjects carried out of the land." And at last the whole House of Commons put this article in the remonstrance, which they then made unto the King: "The Bishops and their Courts did impoverish many thousand; and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the kingdom, some into New-England and other parts of America."

But it is now time to tell my reader that, in the *transportations* thus reasonably and parliamentarily complained of, one of the most considerable persons removing into America was Mr. Charles Chancey, who arrived at Plymouth in New-England a few days before the great earthquake which happened January 1, 1638.

§ 7. After he had spent some time in the ministry of the gospel with Mr. Reyner of Plymouth, he removed unto a town a little northward of it, called Scituate, where he remained for *three* and *three* times *three* years, cultivating the vineyard of the Lord in that place. Of this his ministry at Scituate let me preserve at least this one remembrance: having his ordination renewed at his entrance upon this *new relation*, he did at that solemnity preach upon those words, in Prov. ix. 3, "Wisdom hath sent forth her maidens:" and in his discourse, making a most affectionate reflection upon his former compliances with the temptations of the High Commission Court, he said, with tears "Alas, Christians! I am no maiden; my soul hath been defiled with false worship; how wondrous is the free-grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I should still be employed among the maidens of wisdom!"

Afterwards, upon an invitation from his old people at Ware to return unto them, he purposed a removal with his family back to England; but when he came to Boston in order thereunto, the overseers of Harvard-Colledge at Cambridge, which now wanted a President, by their vehement importunity, prevailed with him to accept the government of that society; wherein worthily "chusing their way, and sitting chief, and dwelling as a King in the midst of his army," he continued unto the day of his death. From this time I behold him as another Elijah, shedding his benign influences on the "school of the prophets;" and with immense labours instructing, directing, and feeding the "hope of the flock in the wilderness." At his instalment, he concluded his excellent oration, made unto a venerable assembly, then filling the Colledge-Hall, with such a passage as this, unto the students there: *Doctiorem certe Præsidentem, et huic Oneri ac Stationi*

*multis Modis Aptiorem, vobis facile licet Invenire, sed Amantiores, et vestri Boni Studiosiorem, non Invenietis.\** And certainly he was as good as his word. How *learnedly* he now conveyed all the *liberal arts* unto those that “sat at his feet;” how *wittily* he moderated their disputations and other exercises; how *constantly* he expounded the Scriptures to the Colledge-Hall; how *fluently* he expressed himself unto them, with Latin of a Terentian phrase, in all his discourses; and how *carefully* he inspected their *manners*, and was above all things concerned for them, that they might answer a note which he gave them—[“When you are your selves interested in the Lord Jesus Christ and his righteousness, you will be fit to be teachers of others: Isaiah cries, *Now send me!* when his sins were pardoned: but without this, you are fit for nothing:”]—will never be forgotten by many of our most worthy men, who were made *such* men by their education under him: for we shall find as many of his disciples in our catalogue of graduates, as there were in that *colledge* of *believers* at Jerusalem, whereof we read in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. But if there were any disadvantages of an *hasty temper* sometimes in his conduct, they still were presently so corrected with his *holy temper*, that this did but invite persons to think the more of that Elias to whom we have compared him; and therefore, as they were forgotten by every one in the very day of them, they are at this day much more to be so: Mr. Urian Oakes, that preached his funeral sermon, well said, “The mention thereof was to be wrapped up in Elijah’s mantle.” But if the whole country were sensible of the blessing which all New-England enjoyed in our Chancey now at Cambridge, the church of Cambridge, to whom he now joined and preached, had a very particular cause to be so. And so indeed they were; by the same token, that when he had been above a year or two in the town, the church kept a whole day of THANKSGIVING to God, for the mercy which they enjoyed in *his* being there.

§ 8. He was a most indefatigable *student*, which with the blessing of God rendered him a most incomparable *scholar*. He rose very early, about four a clock, both winter and summer; and he set the scholars an example of *diligence* hardly to be followed. But *Bene Orasse, est Bene Studuisse*:† by interweaving of constant

\* Although you can easily find a more learned President than myself, and better qualified in many respects for this duty and station, you could not have found one more affectionate towards you or more zealous for your good.

† To pray well, is to study well.



*prayers* into his holy *studies*, he made them indeed holy; and my reader shall count, if he pleases, how oft in a day he addressed Heaven with solemn devotions, and judge whether it might not be said of our Charles, as it was of Charles the Great, (which is indeed the way to become *great*,) *Carolus plus cum Deo, quam cum Hominibus loquitur*;\* when I have told that at his first getting up in a morning, he commonly spent near an hour in secret prayer, before his minding any other matter; then visiting the colledge-hall, he expounded a chapter (which was first read from the *Hebrew*) of the Old Testament, with a short prayer before, and a long one after his exposition: he then did the like upon another chapter, with a prayer before and after, in his family: about eleven a clock in the forenoon, he retired again about three-quarters of an hour for secret prayer. At four a clock in the afternoon he again did the like. In the evening he expounded a chapter (which was first read into the *Greek*) of the New-Testament, in the colledge-hall, with a prayer in like manner before and after; the like he did also in his family; and when the bell rang for nine at night, he retired for another hour of secret prayer before the Lord. But on the Lord's day's morning, instead of his accustomed exposition, he preached a sermon upon a text, for about three-quarters of an hour, in the colledge hall. Besides all this, he often set apart whole days for prayer with fasting alone by himself; yea, and sometimes he spent whole nights in prayer, before the "Heavenly Father who sees in secret." Many days of prayer with fasting he also kept with his religious consort: and many such days he also kept with his family, calling in the company and assistance of three or four godly neighbours: besides what he did more publickly among the people of God. Behold, how near this good man approached unto the strictest and highest sense of *praying always*.

Chrysostom tells us that Christ and Paul commanded us to make our prayers, Βραχειαί και πυκνὰς, και ἐξ ὀλιγων διαλεμμάτων—"short and frequent, and with little distances between them." And Cassianus mentions it, as the universal consent of ancients, *Utilius censent Breves Orationes, sed creberrimas fieri*.† The prayers of our Chancey were such for their *frequency*, whatever they might be sometimes for their *brevity*. Moreover, 'twas his constant practice, not only on the Lord's days in the evenings, but every

\* CHARLES converses more with God than with men.

† That they thought it most salutary to make short prayers, and to make them often.

day, morning and evening, after he had expounded a chapter, to examine his children and servants with some fit questions thereupon. On the Lord's days, once a fortnight, he preached publicly in the forenoons: but when he did not so, he had the morning sermon repeated at noon, and the afternoon sermon repeated at night, and both the sermons repeated once more in the evening, before the next Lord's day: at which times he still took occasion to reinforce the more notable truths occurring in the sermons, with pertinent applications of his own.

At this rate this eminent person "ran the race that was set before him:" and though one would have thought that so laborious a *race* must have been quickly run, yet, if that may be an encouragement unto diligent followers, let them know that four-score years of age dispatched it not; he continued a "green olive tree" in the "house of God," long after he was gray headed for age; and in his old age he did not leave off to bring forth *fruit* unto the praise of God. I find that the *law of redemption*, in the last chapter of Leviticus, (in Hos. iii. 2, alluded unto) valued a man above sixty but at fifteen shekels; whereas a man between twenty and sixty was valued at (an homer of barley, or) no less than fifty shekels. But the worth of our Chancey at *eighty*, continued much what as it was when he was under *sixty*; and he was a person of great *worth* and *use* unto the last. Indeed, it was his laudable ambition to be so. Whence, after age had enfeebled him, the fellows of the colledge once leading this venerable old man to preach a sermon in a winter-day, they, out of affection unto him, to discourage him from so difficult an undertaking, told him, "Sir, you'll certainly die in the pulpit." But he laying hold on what they said, as if they had offered him the greatest encouragement in the world, pressed the more vigorously through the snow-drift, and said, "How glad should I be, if what you say might prove true!"

§ 9. He kept a diary, the loss of which I cannot but mention with regret; nevertheless, I can report thus much of it, that it was methodized under the heads of *sins* and *mercies*. Under the head of *sins*, he took notice of his failings, as if he had spoken a passionate word, or been dull and cold in his duties, and the like. Under the head of *mercies*, he took notice of the special and more signal favours which Heaven bestowed upon him. He was also very much in meditation, and in that one important kind and part of it, self-examination, especially in his preparations for the Lord's table. From his diary we have recovered a little relating

thereunto; and for a *specimen*, the reader shall here have a few of his notes, which he entitled,

### SELF-TRIALS BEFORE THE SACRAMENT.

#### TRIAL OF MY PART IN CHRIST.

1. I am subject to the commandment of believing on his person.
2. I rest and rely upon *him only* for salvation.
3. I resolve, by God's help, to leave all for him.
4. All my *hopes* are in him, and he is my peace.
5. By his *spirit* given me.
6. That I walk "not after the flesh, but after the spirit."
7. By many tokens of his love to me.

#### TRIALS OF MY FAITH.

1. By the *growth* of it.
2. By the *life* of it.
3. By the *fruits* of it.

#### TRIAL OF MY REPENTANCE.

By the *nature* of it: that is, change of mind, and my purpose to turn from all sin to God; "dying daily to sin."

#### TRIAL OF MY UPRIGHTNESS TOWARDS GOD.

1. My care to keep his commandments.
2. That his "commandments are not grievous to me."
3. Desire of union with him, and "cleaving to him with full purpose of heart."

#### TRIAL OF MY BROTHERLY LOVE.

1. Not to suffer sin upon any one.
2. To love all the saints for truth's sake.
3. Love of the Godly dead.

By reciting those qualifications of a Christian, by which this exemplary Christian would examine himself, I have described how exemplarily he *himself* was qualified.

§ 10. His conduct of himself in his ministry (wherein he preached over the whole Gospel of John, the Acts of the Apostles, the three Epistles of John, and largely handled the doctrine of Self-denial, Faith, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, and many other occasional subjects) will be most exactly apprehended from the council which I find him writing to another minister, in a letter dated December 20, 1665.

"In your ministerial work (saith he) let me give you a few directions:

"1. Be much in prayer to God: thereby you shall find more *succour* and *success* in your ministry, than by all your study.

"2. Preach much about the misery of the state of nature, the preparatives to conversion; the nature of conversion, or effectual calling; the necessity of union and communion with Christ; the nature of saving and justifying faith, and the fruits thereof—love and good works, and sanctification.

"3. Explain the words of your text clearly; bring clear proof of parallel scriptures; let your reasons be Scripture-reasons; but be most in application;



which is spent in five uses, refutation of error, information of the truth, correction of manners, exhortation and instruction in righteousness. All which you find in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. And there is a fifth use, viz.: of comfort, 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

“4. Preach not high notions. Read Ames’ *Medulla*; and the explication of 1 Cor. ii. 1, 2. Neither use any *dark Latin words*, or any derived thence, which poor people can’t understand, without explaining of them, so that the poorest and simplest people may understand all.

“5. I advise you being once in office to catechise every Lord’s day in the afternoon, so as to go through the *catechise* once in a year.

“Finally, be very careful of scriptural rules to God’s ministers, Ὁρθομεῖν τὸν λόγον, ὀρθοπαθεῖν καὶ ἐν ὠροσσευχῇ ὠροσκαρτερεῖν.”\*

Thus did he advise, without occasion to make confession of the poet, which of all is the most unhappy for the preacher.

—*Monitis sum minor ipse meis.*†

He was, indeed, an exceeding plain preacher, frequently saying, *Artis est Celare Artem*;‡ and yet a more *learned* and a more *lively* preacher has rarely been heard. He would therefore mention it, as a pious and prudent complaint of Reverend Mr. Dod, “That too many ministers deal like unskilful archers; they shoot over the heads, and much more over the hearts of their hearers, miss their mark, while they soar so high by handling deep points; or by using of obscure and dark expressions or phrases in their preaching.” But for the preaching of our Chancey, the same account may be given of it that Photius gives about the preaching of Athanasius: *In Sermonibus ubique in Locutione Clarus est, et Brevis, et Simplex, Acutus tamen et Altus, et Argumentationibus, omnio vehemens, et in his Tanta Libertas, ut Admirabilis sit.*§

§ 11. In the colledge whereof he was president, he did the part, Τοῦ φιλανθρωπου καὶ φιλοθεου παιδευτου —“*An instructor inspired with the love of God and the love of souls.*” But if the reader expect any further account of this reverend man—what he *was*, what he *thought*, and what he *preached*—let him give himself the edifying pleasure of reading what he *printed*. But of his printed compositions, the more considerable were his twenty-six sermons upon *justification*, published in the year 1659. On the motive which he mentioned in the preface thereunto—“My particular employment,” said he, “wherein I hope that my desire is to serve the Lord in truth, and to seek the great benefit of youth and students,

\* To divide rightly the word, to walk uprightly, and be instant in prayer.

† I cannot reach the standard of my own admonitions.

‡ It is the glory of art to conceal the art.

§ In his discourses, his diction is perspicuous, terse, and simple: yet is his reasoning ingenious, profound, and powerful, and at the same time conducted with marvellous ease.

who are to be trained up, Ἐν νοουθεσία τοῦ Κυρίου—that is, *in the doctrine of the Lord*—that may put a right understanding into them, hath moved me to represent this *doctrine of justification* as a standard of truth and salvation to them; which they should hold fast, and as the Lord shall call them thereunto *hold forth* in their generations.” It had been an usual thing with him solemnly to caution scholars against those *doctrines* which *exalt man* and *debase Christ*: and he thought particularly with Luther, *A misso articulo justificationis et amissa est simul tota Doctrina Christiana*.\*

And agreeably to that caution, we have him, in this his most judicious treatise, maintaining—

“That justification is a judicial proceeding, wherein the sentence of God *absolves* and *acquits* the sinner from the guilt of sin, and accepts him as a just person unto eternal life.

“That the justification of a sinner before God, in the *decree* of it, in the *purchase* of it, and in the *application* of it, is to be ascribed unto the free grace of God, and yet there is also a glorious concurrence of strict justice thereunto.

“That the Son of God, condescending to be the *surety* of his chosen, took their *debt* upon himself, and by suffering the full punishment which was due for their sins, made that satisfaction unto the justice of God, whereupon we receive the remission of sins, which, without such a satisfaction, had been impossible.

“That none of the afflictions which befall the faithful are proper punishments for sin, but the *corrective* dispensations of a careful *father*, and the *sanative* dispensations of a prudent *healer*.

“That yet many Godly men smart for their boldness in sin: and when Paul writing to saints, tells them, ‘If you live after the flesh, you shall die,’ he speaks not only of temporal, but of eternal death: for though ’tis not possible for saints to die eternally, ’tis as possible for them to *die* eternally as to *sin* eternally.

“That we are not justified by faith, as it is a work in us, nor is our *act* of believing any part of the matter of that righteousness wherein we stand righteous before God. But faith does only justify us relatively, or as it has reference to its *object*, the Lord Jesus Christ and his righteousness, or as it receives the mercy of God in the Lord Jesus Christ; or as the beggar’s hand receiving a bag of gold enricheth him: it is but a passive instrument; and the words of James, ‘That a man is justified by works, and not by faith alone,’ do not oppose the other words of Paul, but only assert that a justifying faith is in this opposed unto a false and dead faith, it will certainly be effectual to produce good works in the believer.

“That believers, notwithstanding the forgiveness of their sins, ought often to renew all the expressions of repentance for their sins, and still to be fervent and instant in prayer for pardon; inasmuch as we have need of having remission afresh applied unto us; and we also need the joys and fruits of our pardon, and the grace to make a right use thereof.

“That the whole obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ, both active and

\* Let the single article of *Justification by Faith* be lost, and the whole system of Christian doctrine is lost with it.

passive, belongs to that perfect righteousness which is required in order to justification; and this righteousness of God is conveyed unto believers by way of imputation: it is reckoned and accounted theirs, upon their apprehending of it; which imputation is a gracious act of God the Father, whereby as a *judge* he accounts the sins of the believer unto the surety, as if he had committed the same, and the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the believer, as if he had performed that obedience.

“That still it follows not that every believer is a Redeemer and a Saviour of others, as the Lord Jesus Christ himself is; it is the righteousness of the surety, and not the suretiship it self, that is imputed unto the believer: the suretiship is proper unto our Lord, and because the vertue which is in the head is communicated unto the members, 'tis frivolous thence to argue, that every member is thereby made an head, and has the influence of our head upon the rest.

“That as Adam was the common root of all mankind, and so his first sin is imputed unto all his posterity; thus our Lord Jesus Christ is the common root of all the faithful, and his obedience is imputed unto them all.”

This was the old faith of New-England about that most important article of *justification*; an article wherein all the duties and comforts of our holy religion are more than a little concerned. And I thought I could not make a fitter present unto the “sons of my mother,” than by thus laying before the scholars of Harvard-Colledge an abstract of what the venerable old President of that colledge left as a *legacy* unto them.

All that I shall add upon it is, that as 'tis the observation of our Dr. Owen, in his most judicious book of justification:

“I am not satisfied that any of those who at present oppose this doctrine, do in holiness and righteousness, and the exercise of all Christian graces, surpass those who in the last ages, both in this and other nations, firmly adhered unto it, and who constantly testified unto that effectual influence which it had into their walking before God; nor do I know that any can be named amongst us in the former ages, who were eminent in holiness, and many such there were, who did not cordially assent unto that which we plead for. And it doth not yet appear in general that an attempt to introduce a doctrine contrary unto it, has had any great success in the reformation of the lives of men.”

So our holy Chancey was an eminent instance to confirm something of this observation. Albeit he were so elaborately solicitous to exclude good works from any share in the “antecedent condition of our justification;” yet there were few men in the world who more practically and accurately acknowledged the necessity of good works in all the justified: and so afraid was he of defiling his own soul, and of disturbing his own peace, by the admission of any known sin, that though he made so many stated supplications every day, yet, if he had fallen into any misbecoming passion, or any sensible distemper or disorder of heart in the day, it oc-



casioned his immediate retirement for another prayer extraordinary before the Lord.

§ 11. I remember that upon the article in the *praises* of a good man, [Psal. i. 3,] “He brings forth his fruit in his season,” there is a notable gloss of Aben Ezra, to this purpose: *Anima Rationalis, plena Sapientiæ, in Tempore Senectutis opportuno, separatur a Corpore, sicut Fructus ab Arbore, et non moritur ante Diem.\** Such a *tree* was our Chancey, and such was his fate. This eminent *soldier* of our Lord Jesus Christ, after he was come to be fourscore years of age, continued still to “endure hardness as a good soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ;” and still professed, with the aged Polycarp, That he “was not willing to leave the service of the Lord, that had more than fourscore years been a good master to him.” When his friends pressed him to remit and abate his vast labours, he would reply, *Oportet Imperatorem Stantem mori;*† according he *stood* beyond expectation, directing in the learned *camp*, where he had been a *commander*. At length, on the commencement in the year 1671, he made a farewell oration, wherein he took a solemn farewell of his friends, and then sent for his children, upon whom he bestowed a solemn blessing, with fervent prayers, commending them to the grace of God. So like aged R. Simeon, once (’tis by some thought) the president of a college at Jerusalem, he kept *waiting* and longing for his call, “to depart in peace!” Accordingly the *end* of this year proved the *end* of his days: when illness growing upon him, the reverend Mr. Urian Oakes, after his requested supplications, asked him to give a *sign* of his hopeful and joyful assurances, if he yet had them, of his entering into eternal glory; whereat the speechless old man lifted up his hands, as high towards heaven as he could lift them, and so his renewed and ripened soul flew thither, February 19, 1671, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the seventeenth year of his presidentship over Harvard-Colledge. He left behind him no less than six sons: every of which had received the laurels of degrees in the colledge; and some of them from the hands of their aged father. Their names were Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathanael and Elnathan, (which two were twins) and Israel. *All* of these did, while they had opportunity, preach the gospel; and *most*, if not *all* of them, like their excellent father before them, had an eminent skill in *physick*

\* The rational soul, ripe in wisdom, is detached from the body in the fulness of years, like ruit from a tree, and does not prematurely perish.

† An emperor ought to die standing.

added unto their other accomplishments; which, like him, they used for the good of many; as indeed it is well known that, until two hundred years ago, *physick* in England was no profession distinct from *divinity*; and accordingly princes had the same persons to be their *physicians* and their *confessors*. But only two of them are now living; the *first* and the *last*: the one in England, the other in New-England; Isaac, now a pastor of a church in London, and an author of several well known treatises; Israel, now a pastor of a church in our Stratford, where he is at this day a rich blessing to the colony of Connecticut. The happy mother of these worthy sons was Catharine, the daughter of Robert Eyre, Esq., who, dying a little before her consort, had her holy life quickly after published; namely, by the publication of the *directions* for an *holy life*, which her pious father left as a legacy for his children: directions whereof I shall say but this, that as they express the true spirit of Puritanism, so they comprise the wisest, the fruitfullest, the exactest, and the holiest *rules of living* that ever I saw together in any short human composure; and the reprinting of them would not only give a description of the heavenly conversation endeavoured by our great Charles Chancey, whom we have hitherto been considering, but also procure the admiration, if not imitation, of them that read it.

§ 12. New-England having enjoyed such a privilege, and such a president as our Chancey, governing a college, I will conclude this account thereof with certain passages which this reverend man published in a sermon, on Amos ii. 11—"I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites,"—preached at Cambridge the day after one of the commencements:

"God hath wonderfully erected schools of learning, and means of education for our children, that there might be continually some comfortable supply and succession in the ministry. Is it not so, O ye people of God in New-England! But then let me testify against you in the Lord's name, for great unthankfulness to the Lord for so great a mercy. The great blessing of a painful ministry is not regarded by covetous earth worms; neither do the schools of learning, that afford oyl to the lamps, come into their thoughts, to praise the Lord for them. Or, some little good they apprehend in it, to have a minister to spend the Sabbath, and to baptize their children, and keep them out of harm's way, or teach them to write and read, and cast accounts; but they despise the *angel's bread*, and count it *light stuff* in comparison of other things, yea, there be many in the country that account it their happiness to live in the vast howling wilderness, without any ministry or schools, and means of education for their posterity; they have much liberty, they think, by this *want*. Surely their practice about their children is little better than the merciless and unnatural profaneness of the Israelites, 'that sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils!' And many

make wicked returns of these blessings, and fearfully abuse them, and seek what they can to weary out ministers, and pull down schools of learning, or, which is all one, deny or withhold maintenance from them; as good as to say, 'Rase them, rase them to the foundations!' But how exceeding hateful unto the Lord is this unthankfulness! Do you thus requite the Lord, ye foolish people and unwise?

"But then let scholars mainly intend, labour, and study for this; to be prophets and Nazarites: and therefore let speaking to edification, exhortation, and comfort be aimed at in all your studies; and behave your selves as being set apart in peculiar manner for the Lord. To use the 'vessels of the temple' to quaff and carouse in, was a Babylonish practice. You should have less to do with the world and worldly delights, and be less cumbered than others with the affairs of this life."

All that we will add of this good old man, shall be the epitaph which is now to be read on his tomb-stone in Cambridge:

*Conditum hic est Corpus, CAROLI CHAUNCÆI, S. S. Theologiæ Uaccalaur. ET Collegii Harvardini Nov-Angl. Per XVII. Annorum Spacium Præsidis Vigilantissimi, Viri Plane Integerrimi, Concionatoris Eximii, Pietate Pariter ac Liberali Eriditione Ornatissimi. Qui Obiit in Domino, Feb. XIX. An. Dom. M.DC.LXX.I. Et Ætatis suæ, LXXX.II.\**

\* Here is buried the body of CHARLES CHANCEY, Bachelor of Divinity, and for the space of seventeen years a most faithful President of Harvard Colledge in New-England—a man of unsullied integrity, an accomplished debater, gifted with equal merit in piety and scholarship. He died in the Lord, February 19th, A.D. 1671, aged 82.

The chapters upon Dunster and Chauncy from Mather's *Magnalia* given in this leaflet, especially the former, should be read in connection with the History of Harvard College in the *Magnalia*, reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 184. Preceding Dunster's presidency, Harvard College had been for a short time after its founding under the charge of Nathaniel Eaton, who bore the title of professor or master. "President Dunster," says Quincy in his History of Harvard University, "united in himself the character of both patron and president, for, poor as he was, he contributed, at a time of the utmost need, 100 acres of land" toward the support of the college, "besides rendering it, for a succession of years, a series of official services well directed, unwearied and altogether inestimable." After serving the college for fourteen years, he was forced to resign in 1654 on account of his opinions about infant baptism. There is a life of Dunster by Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin. A life of President Chauncy by his descendant, Rev. Charles Chauncy of Boston, prepared at the request of Dr. Stiles, is included in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. x. There are sketches of both Dunster and Chauncy in the appendix to Rev. A. P. Peabody's "Harvard Graduates."

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# The Political Union of the United States.

BY PELATIAH WEBSTER.

A DISSERTATION ON THE POLITICAL UNION AND CONSTITUTION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF NORTH-AMERICA WHICH IS NECESSARY TO THEIR PRESERVATION AND HAPPINESS; HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC. [FIRST PUBLISHED IN PHILADELPHIA, 1783.]

I. *The supreme authority of any State must have power enough to effect the ends of its appointment, otherwise these ends cannot be answered, and effectually secured; at best they are precarious.—* But at the same time,

II. *The supreme authority ought to be so limited and checked, if possible, as to prevent the abuse of power, or the exercise of powers that are not necessary to the ends of its appointment, but hurtful and oppressive to the subject;—but to limit a supreme authority so far as to diminish its dignity, or lessen its power of doing good, would be to destroy or at least to corrupt it, and render it ineffectual to its ends.*

III. *A number of sovereign States uniting into one Commonwealth, and appointing a supreme power to manage the affairs of the union, do necessarily and unavoidably part with and transfer over to such supreme power, so much of their own sovereignty, as is necessary to render the ends of the union effectual, otherwise their confederation will be an union without bands of union, like a cask without hoops, that may and probably will fall to pieces, as soon as it is put to any exercise which requires strength.*

In like manner, every member of civil society parts with many of his natural rights, that he may enjoy the rest in greater security under the protection of society.

The UNION of the Thirteen States of *America* is of mighty consequence to the *security, sovereignty, and even liberty* of each of them, and of all the individuals who compose them; *united* under a natural, well adjusted, and effectual constitution, they are a strong, rich, growing power, with great resources and means of defence, which no foreign power will easily attempt to invade or insult; they may easily command respect.

As their exports are mostly either *raw materials* or *provisions*, and their imports mostly *finished goods*, their trade becomes a capital object with every manufacturing nation of *Europe*, and all the southern colonies of *America*; their friendship and trade will of course be courted, and each power in amity with them will contribute to their security.

Their *union* is of great moment in another respect; they thereby form a *superintending power among themselves*, that can moderate and terminate *disputes* that may arise between *different States*, restrain intestine violence, and prevent any recourse to the *dreadful decision* of the sword.

I do not mean here to go into a detail of all the advantages of our union; they offer themselves on every view, and are important enough to engage every honest, prudent mind, to secure and establish that union by every possible method, that we may enjoy the full benefit of it, and be rendered happy and safe under the protection it affords.

This *union*, however important, cannot be supported without a *constitution founded on principles of natural truth, fitness, and utility*. If there is one article wrong in such constitution, it will discover itself in practice, by its baleful operation, and destroy or at least injure the union.

Many nations have been ruined by the *errors of their political constitutions*. Such errors first introduce wrongs and injuries, which soon breed discontents, which gradually work up into mortal hatred and resentments; hence inveterate parties are formed, which of course make the whole community a house divided against itself, which soon falls either a prey to some enemies without, who watch to devour them, or else crumble into their original constituent parts, and lose all respectability, strength, and security.

It is as physically impossible to secure to civil society, good *cement of union, duration, and security, without a constitution founded on principles of natural fitness and right*, as to raise timbers into a strong, compact building, which have not been

framed upon true geometric principles; for if you cut one beam a *foot too long or too short*, not all the *authority* and all the *force* of all the carpenters can ever get it into its place, and make it fit with proper symmetry there.

As the fate then of all governments depends much on their political constitutions, they become an object of mighty moment to the happiness and well-being of society; and as the framing of such a constitution requires great knowledge of the rights of men and societies, as well as of the interests, circumstances, and even prejudices of the several parts of the community or commonwealth, for which it is intended; it becomes a very complex subject, and of course requires great steadiness and comprehension of thought, as well as great knowledge of men and things, to do it properly. I shall, however, attempt it with my best abilities, and hope from the candor of the public to escape censure, if I cannot merit praise.

I BEGIN with my first and great principle, viz. *That the constitution must vest powers in every department sufficient to secure and make effectual the ends of it.* The supreme authority must have the power of *making war and peace*—of *appointing armies and navies*—of *appointing officers both civil and military*—of *making contracts*—of *emitting, coining, and borrowing money*—of *regulating trade*—of *making treaties with foreign powers*—of *establishing post offices*—and in short of *doing every thing* which the *well-being* of the Commonwealth may require, and which is *not compatible* to any particular State, all of which require money, and cannot possibly be made effectual without it.

*They must therefore of necessity be vested with a power of taxation.* I know this is a most important and weighty trust, a dreadful engine of oppression, tyranny, and injury, when ill used; yet, from *the necessity of the case*, it must be admitted.

For to give a supreme authority a power of *making contracts*, without any power of *payment*—of *appointing officers* civil and military, without money to *pay* them—a power to *build ships*, without *any money* to do it with—a power of *emitting money*, without any power to *redeem* it—or of *borrowing money*, without any power to make *payment*, &c., &c. such solecisms in government, are so nugatory and absurd, that I really think to offer further arguments on the subject, would be to insult the understanding of my readers.

To make all these payments dependent on the votes of *thirteen*



*popular assemblies*, who will undertake to judge of the propriety of every contract and every occasion of money, and *grant* or *withhold* supplies according to their opinion, whilst at the same time, the operations of the whole may be stopped by the vote of a single one of them, is absurd; for this renders all *supplies* so *precarious*, and the *public credit* so extremely *uncertain*, as must in its nature render all *efforts in war*, and all *regular administration in peace*, utterly impracticable, as well as most pointedly ridiculous. Is there a man to be found, who would lend money, or render personal services, or make contracts on such precarious security? of this we have a proof of fact, the strongest of all proofs, a fatal experience, the surest tho' severest of all demonstrations, which renders all other proof or argument on this subject quite unnecessary.

The present *broken state of our finances*—public debts and bankruptcies—enormous and ridiculous depreciation of public securities—with the total annihilation of our public credit—prove beyond all contradiction the vanity of all recourse to the several Assemblies of the States. The recent instance of the duty of 5 per cent. on imported goods, struck dead, and the bankruptcies which ensued on the single vote of *Rhode-Island*, affords another proof, of what it is certain *may be done again* in like circumstances.

I have another reason why a *power of taxation or of raising money*, ought to be vested in the supreme authority of our commonwealth, viz. the monies necessary for the public ought to be raised by a *duty imposed on imported goods*, not a bare 5 *per cent.* or *any other per cent.* on all imported goods indiscriminately, but a duty *much heavier* on all articles of *luxury or mere ornament*, and which are consumed principally by the *rich* or prodigal part of the community, such as *silks* of all sorts, *muslins*, *cambricks*, *lawns*, *superfine cloths*, *spirits*, *wines*, &c., &c.

Such an impost would ease the *husbandman*, the *mechanic*, and the *poor*; would have all the practical effects of a *sumptuary law*; would mend the economy, and increase the industry, of the community; would be collected without the shocking circumstances of *collectors and their warrants*; and make the *quantity of tax* paid, always depend on the *choice* of the person who pays it.

This tax can be laid by the supreme authority much more conveniently than by the particular Assemblies, and would in no case be subject to their *repeals* or *modifications*; and of course the public credit would never be dependent on, or liable to bank-

ruptcy by the *humors* of any particular *Assembly*.—In an *Essay on Finance*, which I design soon to offer to the public, this subject will be treated more fully. (*See my Sixth Essay on Free Trade and Finance*, p. 229.)

The delegates which are to form that august body, which are to hold and exercise the supreme authority, ought to be *appointed by the States in any manner they please; in which they should not be limited by any restrictions*; their own *dignity* and the *weight* they will hold in the great public councils, will always depend on the *abilities* of the persons they appoint to represent them there; and if they are wise enough to choose men of *sufficient abilities*, and respectable characters, men of sound sense, extensive knowledge, gravity, and integrity, they will reap the *honor and advantage* of such wisdom.

But if they are *fools enough* to appoint men of *trifling or vile characters*, of *mean abilities*, *faulty morals*, or *despicable ignorance*, they must reap the *fruits* of such folly, and content themselves to have *no weight, dignity, or esteem* in the public councils; and what is more to be lamented by the Commonwealth, to do *no good there*.

I have no objection to the States electing and recalling their delegates as often as they please, but think it hard and very injurious both to them and the Commonwealth, that they should be *obliged to discontinue them after three years' service*, if they find them on that trial to be men of sufficient integrity and abilities; a man of that experience is certainly much more qualified to serve in the place, than a new member of equal good character can be; experience makes perfect in every kind of business—*old, experienced statesmen*, of tried and approved integrity and abilities, are a great *blessing to a State*—they acquire great authority and esteem as well as wisdom, and very much contribute to keep the system of government in good and salutary order; and this furnishes the strongest reason why they should be continued in the service, on *Plato's* great maxim, that “the man *best qualified* to serve, ought to be *appointed*.”

I am sorry to see a contrary maxim adopted in our *American* counsels; to make the *highest reason* that can be given for *continuing a man* in the public administration, assigned as a *constitutional and absolute reason for turning him out*, seems to me to be a solecism of a piece with *many other reforms*, by which we set out to surprise the world with our wisdom.

If we should adopt this maxim in the common affairs of life,

it would be found inconvenient, *e.g.* if we should make it a part of our constitution, that a man who has served a three years' apprenticeship to the trade of a *tailor* or *shoemaker*, should be obliged to discontinue that business for *the three successive years*, I am of opinion the country would soon be cleared of good shoemakers and tailors.—Men are no more born statesmen than shoemakers or tailors—Experience is equally necessary to perfection in both.

It seems to me that a man's *inducements to qualify himself for a public employment*, and make himself master of it, must be much discouraged by this consideration, that let him take whatever pains to qualify himself in the best manner, he must be shortly *turned out*, and of course it would be of more consequence to him, to turn his attention to some other business, which he might adopt when his present appointment should expire; and by this means the Commonwealth is in danger of losing the zeal, industry, and shining abilities, as well as services, of their most accomplished and valuable men.

I hear that the state of *Georgia* has improved on this blessed principle, and limited the continuance of their governors to *one year*; the consequence is, they have already the *ghosts of departed governors stalking* about in every part of their State, and growing more plenty every year; and as the price of every thing is reduced by its plenty, I can suppose governors will soon be very low there.

This *doctrine of rotation* was first proposed by some sprightly geniuses of brilliant politics, with this cogent reason; that by introducing a rotation in the public offices, we should have a great number of men trained up to public service; but it appears to me that it will be more likely to produce many *jacks at all trades*, but *good at none*.

I think that frequent elections are a sufficient security against the continuance of men in public office whose conduct is not approved, and there can be no reason for excluding those whose conduct is approved, and who are allowed to be better qualified than any men who can be found to supply their places.

Another great object of government, is the *apportionment of burdens and benefits*; for if a *greater quota* of burden, or a *less quota* of benefit than is just and right, be allotted to any State, this ill apportionment will be an everlasting source of uneasiness and discontent. In the first case, the over-burdened State will complain; in the last case, all the States, whose quota of benefit



is under-rated, will be uneasy; and this is a case of such delicacy, that it cannot be safely trusted to the arbitrary opinion or judgment of any body of men, however august.

Some natural principle of confessed equity, and which can be reduced to a certainty, ought, if possible, to be found and adopted; for it is of the highest moment to the Commonwealth, to obviate, and, if possible, wholly to take away, such a fruitful and common source of infinite disputes, as that of apportionment of quotas has ever proved in all States of the earth.

The *value of lands* may be a good rule; but the *ascertainment of that value* is impracticable; no assessment can be made which will not be liable to exception and debate—to adopt a good rule in any thing which is impracticable, is absurd; for it is physically impossible that any thing should be good for *practice*, which cannot be *practised* at all;—but if the value of lands was capable of certain assessment, yet to adopt that value as a rule of apportionment of quotas, and at the same time to *except from valuation* large tracts of sundry States of immense value, which have all been defended by the joint arms of the whole Empire, and for the defence of which no additional quota of supply is to be demanded of those States, to whom such lands are secured by such joint efforts of the States, is in its nature unreasonable, and will open a door for great complaint.

It is plain without argument, that such States ought either to *make grants* to the Commonwealth of such tracts of defended territory, or *sell as much* of them as will pay their proper quota of defence, and *pay such sums* into the public treasury; and this ought to be done, let what rule of quota soever be adopted with respect to the cultivated part of the United States; for no proposition of natural right and justice can be plainer than this, that every part of valuable property which is *defended*, ought to contribute its quota of supply for that *defence*.

If then the value of cultivated lands is found to be an impracticable rule of apportionment of quotas, we have to seek for some other, equally just and less exceptionable.

It appears to me, that *the number of living souls* or *human persons* of whatever age, sex, or condition, will afford us a rule or measure of apportionment which will for ever *increase* and *decrease* with the *real wealth* of the States, and will of course be a *perpetual rule* not capable of corruption by any circumstances of future time; which is of vast consideration in forming a constitution which is designed for *perpetual duration*, and which will

in its nature be as just as to the inhabited parts of each State, as that of the value of lands, or any other that has or can be mentioned.

Land takes its value not merely from the goodness of its soil, but from innumerable other relative advantages, among which the population of the country may be considered as principal; as lands in a full-settled country will always (*cæteris paribus*) bring more than lands in thin settlements—On this principle, when the inhabitants of *Russia*, *Poland*, &c. sell real estates, they do not value them as we do, by the *number of acres*, but by the *number of people* who live on them.

Where any piece of land has many advantages, many people will crowd there to obtain' them; which will create many competitors for the purchase of it; which will of course raise the price. Where there are fewer advantages, there will be fewer competitors, and of course a less price; and these two things will for ever be proportionate to each other, and of course the one will always be a sure index of the other.

The only considerable objection I have ever heard to this, is, that the quality of inhabitants differs in the different States, and it is not reasonable that the *black slaves* in the *southern* States should be estimated on a par with the *white freemen* in the *northern* States. To discuss this question fairly, I think it will be just to estimate the *neat value* of the labor of both; and if it shall appear that the labor of the black person produces as much neat wealth to the southern State, as the labor of the white person does to the northern State, I think it will follow plainly, that they are equally useful inhabitants in point of wealth; and therefore in the case before us, should be estimated alike.

And if the amazing profits which the southern planters boast of receiving from the labor of their slaves on their plantations, are *real*, the southern people have greatly the advantage in this kind of estimation, and as this objection comes principally from the southward, I should suppose that the gentlemen from that part would blush to urge it any further.

That the supreme authority should be vested with powers to *terminate* and *finally decide controversies arising between different States*, I take it, will be universally admitted, but I humbly apprehend that an *appeal* from the first instance of trial ought to be admitted in causes of great moment, on the same reasons that such appeals are admitted in all the States of *Europe*. It is well known to all men versèd in courts, that the first hearing of a

cause, rather gives an opening to that evidence and reason which ought to decide it, than such a full examination and thorough discussion, as should always precede a final judgment, in causes of national consequence.—A detail of reasons might be added, which I deem it unnecessary to enlarge on here.

The supreme authority ought to have a power of *peace and war*, and forming *treaties and alliances* with all foreign powers; which implies a necessity of their also having sufficient powers to *enforce the obedience* of all subjects of the United States to such treaties and alliances; with *full powers to unite the force* of the States; and direct its operations in war; and to punish all transgressors in all these respects; otherwise, by the imprudence of a *few*, the whole Commonwealth may be embroiled with foreign powers, and the operations of war may be rendered useless, or fail much of their due effect.

All these I conceive will be easily granted, especially the latter, as the power of Congress to appoint and direct the army and navy in war, with all departments thereto belonging, and punishing delinquents in them all, is already admitted into practice in the course of the present unhappy war, in which we have been long engaged.

II. But now the *great and most difficult* part of this weighty subject remains to be considered, viz. how *these supreme powers are to be constituted in such manner that they may be able to exercise with full force and effect*, the vast authorities committed to them for the *good and well-being* of the United States, and yet be *so checked and restrained* from exercising them to the *injury and ruin* of the States, that we may *with safety* trust them with a commission of such vast magnitude;—and may *Almighty wisdom direct my pen* in this arduous discussion.

I. The men who compose this important council, must be *delegated from all the States*; and, of course, the *hope* of approbation and continuance of honors, will naturally stimulate them to act right, and to please; the *dread* of censure and disgrace will naturally operate as a check to restrain them from improper behaviour: but however natural and forcible these motives may be, we find by sad experience, they are not always *strong enough* to produce the effects we expect and wish from them.

It is to be wished that none might be appointed that were not *fit and adequate* to this weighty business; but a little knowledge of human nature, and a little acquaintance with the political history of mankind, will soon teach us that this is not to be expected.



The representatives appointed by popular elections are commonly not only the *legal*, but *real*, substantial representatives of their electors, *i.e.* there will commonly be about the *same proportion* of *grave, sound, well-qualified men*,—*trifling, desultory men*,—*wild or knavish schemers*,—and *dull, ignorant fools*, in the *delegated assembly*, as in the *body of electors*.

I know of no way to help this; such delegates must be admitted, as the States are pleased to send; and all that can be done, is, when they get together, to make the best of them.

We will suppose then they are all met in Congress, clothed with that *vast authority* which it is necessary to the *well-being*, and even *existence, of the union*, that they should be vested with; how shall we empower them to do all necessary and effectual *good*, and restrain them from doing *hurt*? To do this properly, I think we must recur to those *natural motives* of action, those *feelings* and apprehensions, which usually occur to the mind at the *very time* of action; for *distant* consequences, however weighty, are often too much disregarded.

*Truth loves light, and is vindicated by it. Wrong shrouds itself in darkness, and is supported by delusion.* An honest, well-qualified man *loves light*, can bear *close examination* and *critical inquiry*, and is *best pleased* when he is most thoroughly *understood*: a man of *corrupt design*, or a *fool of no design*, hates close examination and critical inquiry; the knavery of the one, and the ignorance of the other, are discovered by it, and they both usually grow uneasy, before the investigation is half done. I do not believe there is a more natural truth in the world, than that divine one of our SAVIOUR, "*he that doth truth, cometh to the light.*" I would therefore recommend that mode of deliberation, which will naturally bring on the most thorough and critical *discussion of the subject*, previous to passing any act; and for that purpose humbly propose,

2. That the *Congress shall consist of two chambers*, an *upper* and *lower house*, or *senate* and *commons*, with the *concurrence of both necessary to every act*; and that every State send one or more delegates to each house: this will subject every act to *two discussions* before *two distinct* chambers of men equally *qualified* for the debate, equally *masters* of the subject, and of equal *authority* in the decision.

These two houses will be governed by the same natural motives and interests, *viz.* the good of the Commonwealth, and the approbation of the people. Whilst, at the same time, *the emulation*

naturally arising between them, will induce a very *critical and sharp-sighted inspection* into the motions of each other. Their different opinions will bring on conferences between the two houses, in which the *whole subject* will be *exhausted* in arguments pro and con, and *shame* will be the portion of obstinate, convicted *error*.

Under these circumstances, a man of ignorance or evil design will be afraid to impose on the credulity, inattention, or confidence of his house, by introducing any *corrupt or indigested proposition*, which he knows he must be called on to defend against the *severe scrutiny* and *poignant objections* of the other house. I do not believe the many hurtful and foolish legislative acts which first or last have injured all the States on earth, have originated so much in corruption as indolence, ignorance, and a want of a full comprehension of the subject, which a full, prying, and emulous discussion would tend in a great measure to remove: this naturally rouses the lazy and idle, who hate the pain of close thinking; animates the ambitious to excel in policy and argument; and excites the whole to support the dignity of their house, and vindicate their own propositions.

I am not of opinion that bodies of elective men, which usually compose *Parliaments, Diets, Assemblies, Congresses, &c.* are commonly *dishonest*; but I believe it rarely happens that there are not *designing men* among them; and I think it would be much more difficult for them to unite their partisans in two houses, and corrupt or deceive them both, than to carry on their designs where there is but *one unalarmed, unapprehensive* house to be managed; and as there is *no hope* of making these bad men good, the best policy is to *embarrass* them, and make their work as *difficult* as possible.

In these assemblies are frequently to be found sanguine men, upright enough indeed, but of strong, wild projection, whose brains are always teeming with *Utopian, chimerical plans*, and *political whims*, very destructive to society. I hardly know a greater evil than to have the *supreme counsels* of a Nation played off on *such men's wires*; such baseless visions at best end in darkness, and the *dance*, tho' easy and merry enough at first, rarely fails to plunge the credulous, simple followers into *sloughs* and *bogs* at last.

Nothing can tend more effectually to obviate these evils, and to mortify and cure such maggoty brains, than to see the absurdity of their projects exposed by the several *arguments* and *keen satire*

which a full, emulous, and spirited discussion of the subject will naturally produce: we have *had enough of these geniuses* in the short course of our politics, both in our national and provincial councils, and have felt enough of their evil effects, to induce us to wish for any good method to keep ourselves clear of them in future.

The consultations and decisions of national councils are so very important, that the *fate of millions* depends on them; therefore no man ought to speak in such assemblies, without considering that the fate of millions *hangs on his tongue*,—and of course a man can have no right in such august councils to utter indigested sentiments, or indulge himself in sudden, unexamined flights of thought; his most tried and improved abilities are due to the State, who have trusted him with their most important interests.

A man must therefore be most inexcusable, who is either *absent* during such debates, or *sleeps*, or *whispers*, or *catches flies* during the argument, and just *rouses* when the vote is called, to give his *yea* or *nay*, to the *weal* or *woe* of a nation.—Therefore it is manifestly proper, that every natural motive that can operate on his understanding, or his passions, to engage his attention and utmost efforts, should be put in practice, and that his present feelings should be raised by every motive of honor and shame, to stimulate him to every practicable degree of diligence and exertion, to be as far as possible useful in the great discussion.

I appeal to the feelings of every reader, if he would not (were he in either house) be much more strongly and naturally induced to exert his utmost abilities and attention to any question which was to pass thro' the *ordeal of a spirited discussion* of another house, than he would do, if the *absolute decision* depended on *his own house*, without any further inquiry or challenge on the subject.

As Congress will ever be composed of men delegated by the several States, it may well be supposed that they have the *confidence* of their several States, and understand well the policy and present condition of them; it may also be supposed that they come with strong *local attachments*, and habits of thinking limited to the *interests* of their particular States: it may therefore be supposed they will need much information, in order to their gaining that *enlargement of ideas*, and great comprehension of thought, which will be necessary to enable them to think properly on that *large scale*, which takes into view the interests of all the States.

The greatest care and wisdom is therefore requisite to give



them the best and surest information, and of that kind that may be the most safely relied on, to prevent their being deluded or prejudiced by partial representations, made by interested men who have particular views.

This *information* may perhaps be best made by *the great ministers of state*, who ought to be men of the *greatest abilities* and *integrity*; their business is confined to their several departments, and their attention engaged strongly and constantly to all the several parts of the same; the whole arrangement, method, and order of which, are formed, superintended, and managed in their offices, and all informations relative to their departments centre there.

These *ministers* will of course have the best information, and most perfect knowledge, of the state of the Nation, as far as it relates to their several departments, and will of course be able to give the *best information* to Congress, in what manner any bill proposed will affect the public interest in their several departments, which will nearly comprehend the whole.

The *Financier* manages the whole subject of *revenues* and *expenditures*—the *Secretary of State* takes knowledge of the general *policy* and *internal* government—the *minister of war* presides in the whole business of *war* and *defence*—and the *minister of foreign affairs* regards the whole state of the nation, as it stands related to, or connected with, all foreign powers.

I mention a *Secretary of State*, because all other nations have one, and I suppose we shall need one as much as they, and the multiplicity of affairs which naturally fall into his office will grow so fast, that I imagine we shall soon be under necessity of appointing one.

To these I would add *Judges of law*, and *chancery*; but I fear they will not be very soon appointed—the one supposes the existence of *law*, and the other of *equity*—and when we shall be altogether convinced of the absolute necessity of the real and effectual existence of both these, we shall probably appoint proper heads to preside in those departments.—I would therefore propose,

3. That when *any bill shall pass the second reading* in the house in which it originates, and before it shall be finally enacted, copies of it shall be sent to *each of the said ministers of state*, in being at the time, who shall give said house *in writing*, the fullest information in their power, and their most explicit sentiments of the operation of the said bill on the public interest, as far as relates to their *respective departments*, which shall be received and read

in said house, and *entered on their minutes*, before they finally pass the bill; and when they send the bill for concurrence to the *other house*, they shall send therewith said *informations of the said ministers of state*, which shall likewise be read in that house before their concurrence is finally passed.

I do not mean to give these great ministers of state a *negative on Congress*, but I mean to oblige Congress to receive *their advices* before they pass their bills, and that every *act* shall be *void* that is not passed with these forms; and I further propose, that either house of Congress may, if they please, admit the said *ministers* to be *present* and *assist* in the debates of the house, but *without any right of vote* in the decision.

It appears to me, that if every act shall pass so many different corps of *discussion* before it is completed, where each of them stake their characters on the advice or vote they give, there will be all the *light thrown on the case*, which the nature and circumstances of it can admit, and any *corrupt* man will find it extremely difficult to foist in any erroneous clause whatever; and every *ignorant or lazy* man will find the strongest inducements to make himself master of the subject, that he may appear with some tolerable degree of character in it; and the whole will find themselves in a manner compelled, diligently and sincerely to seek for the *real state* of the facts, and the natural *fitness and truth* arising from them, *i.e.* the whole *natural principles* on which the subject depends, and which alone can endure every test, to the end that they may have not only the inward satisfaction of *acting properly* and usefully for the States, but also the *credit and character* which is or ought ever to be annexed to such a conduct.

This will give the great *laws* of Congress the highest *probability, presumption, and means of right, fitness, and truth*, that any laws whatever can have at their first enactment, and will of course afford the highest reason for the confidence and acquiescence of the States, and all their subjects, in them; and being grounded in *truth* and *natural fitness*, their operation will be *easy, salutary, and satisfactory*.

If experience shall discover *errors* in any law (for practice will certainly discover such errors, if there be any) the legislature will always be able to correct them, by such repeals, amendments, or new laws as shall be found necessary; but as it is much easier to *prevent* mischiefs than to *remedy* them, all possible caution, prudence, and attention should be used, to make the laws *right at first*.

4. There is *another body of men* among us, whose business of life, and whose full and extensive intelligence, foreign and domestic, naturally make them more perfectly acquainted with the sources of our wealth, and whose particular interests are more intimately and necessarily connected with the general prosperity of the country, than any other order of men in the States.—I mean the *Merchants*; and I could wish that Congress might have the benefit of that *extensive and important information*, which this body of men are very capable of laying before them.

TRADE is of such essential importance to our interests, and so intimately connected with all our staples, great and small, that no sources of our wealth can flourish, and operate to the general benefit of the community, *without it*. Our *husbandry*, that grand staple of our country, can never exceed our home consumption *without this*—it is plain at first sight, that the *farmer* will not toil and sweat thro' the year to raise great plenty of the produce of the soil, if there is *no market* for his produce, when he has it ready for sale, *i.e.* if there are no merchants to buy it.

In like manner, the *manufacturer* will not lay out his business on any large scale, if there is no merchant to buy his fabrics when he has finished them; a *vent* is of the most essential importance to every manufacturing country—the merchants, therefore, become the natural negotiators of the wealth of the country, who take off the *abundance*, and supply the *wants*, of the inhabitants;—and as this negotiation is the business of their lives, and the source of their own wealth, they of course become better acquainted with both our abundance and wants, and are more interested in finding and improving the best *vent* for the one, and *supply* of the other, than any other men among us, and they have a natural interest in making both the purchase and supply as convenient to their customers as possible, that they may secure their custom, and thereby increase their own business.

It follows then, that the merchants are not only *qualified to give the fullest and most important information* to our supreme legislature, concerning the state of our trade—the abundance and wants,—the wealth and poverty, of our people, *i.e.* their most important interests, but are also the most likely to do it *fairly* and *truly*, and to forward with their influence, every measure which will operate to the convenience and benefit of our commerce, and oppose with their whole weight and superior knowledge of the subject, any *wild schemes*, which an ignorant or arbitrary legislature may attempt to introduce, to the hurt and embar-



rassment of our intercourse both with one another, and with foreigners.

The States of *Venice* and *Holland* have ever been governed by *merchants*, or at least their policy has ever been under the great influence of that sort of men. No States have been better served, as appears by their great success, the ease and happiness of their citizens, as well as the strength and riches of their Commonwealths: the one is the *oldest*, and the other the *richest*, State in the world of equal number of people—the one has maintained sundry wars with the *Grand Turk*—and the other has withstood the power of *Spain* and *France*; and the *capitals* of both have long been the principal marts of the several parts of *Europe* in which they are situated; and the *banks* of both are the best supported, and in the best credit, of any *banks in Europe*, tho' their countries or territories are very small, and their inhabitants but a handful, when compared with the great States in their neighbourhood.

Merchants must, from the nature of their business, certainly understand the interests and resources of their country, the best of any men in it; and I know not of *any one reason* why they should be deemed *less upright or patriotic*, than any other rank of citizens whatever.

I therefore humbly propose, if the merchants in the several States are disposed to send delegates from their body, to meet and attend the sitting of Congress, that they shall be permitted to form a *chamber of commerce*, and *their advice* to Congress be *demande*d and *admitted* concerning all bills before Congress, as far as the same may affect the *trade of the States*.

I have no idea that the continent is made for Congress: I take them to be no more than the upper servants of the great political body, who are to find out things by *study and inquiry* as other people do; and therefore I think it necessary to place them under the best possible advantages for information, and to require them to improve all those advantages, to qualify themselves in the best manner possible, for the wise and useful discharge of the vast trust and mighty authority reposed in them; and as I conceive the advice of the merchants to be one of the greatest sources of mercantile information, which is any where placed within their reach, it ought by no means to be neglected, but so husbanded and improved, that the greatest possible advantages may be derived from it.

Besides this, I have another reason why the merchants ought

to be consulted; I take it to be very plain that the husbandry and manufactures of the country must be ruined, if the present weight of taxes is continued on them much longer, and of course a very great part of our revenue must arise from *imposts on merchandise*, which will fall directly within the merchants' sphere of business, and of course their concurrence and advice will be of the utmost consequence, not only to direct the properest mode of levying those duties, but also to get them carried into quiet and peaceable execution.

No men are more conversant with the citizens, or more intimately connected with their interests, than the merchants, and therefore their weight and influence will have a mighty effect on the minds of the people. I do not recollect an instance, in which the Court of *London* ever rejected the remonstrances and advices of the merchants, and did not suffer severely for their pride. We have some striking instances of this in the disregarded advices and remonstrances of very many *English* merchants against the *American* war, and their fears and apprehensions we see verified, almost like prophecies, by the event.

I know not why I should continue this argument any longer, or indeed why I have urged it so long, in as much as I cannot conceive that Congress or any body else will deem it below the dignity of the supreme power to consult so important an order of men, in matters of the first consequence, which fall immediately under their notice, and in which their experience, and of course their knowledge and advice are preferable to those of any other order of men.

Besides the benefits which Congress may receive from this institution, a *chamber of commerce*, composed of members from *all trading towns* in the States, if properly instituted and conducted, will produce very many, I might almost say, innumerable advantages of singular utility to all the States—it will give dignity, uniformity, and safety to our *trade*—establish the *credit of the bank*—secure the *confidence of foreign merchants*—prove in very many instances a fruitful source of improvement of our *staples and mutual intercourse*—correct many *abuses*—pacify *discontents*—unite us in our interests, and thereby *cement* the general union of the whole Commonwealth—will *relieve Congress* from the pain and trouble of deciding many *intricate questions* of trade which they *do not understand*, by referring them over to this chamber, where they will be discussed by an order of men, the *most competent* to the business of any that can be found,

and *most likely* to give a decision that shall be *just, useful, and satisfactory*.

It may be objected to all this, that the *less complex* and the *more simple* every constitution is, the *nearer it comes to perfection*: this argument would be very good, and afford a very forcible conclusion, if the government of *men* was like that of the *Almighty*, always founded on wisdom, knowledge, and truth; but in the present imperfect state of human nature, where the best of men know but *in part*, and must recur to advice and information *for the rest*, it certainly becomes necessary to form a constitution on such principles, as will secure *that information and advice* in the best and surest manner possible.

It may be further objected that the forms herein proposed will *embarrass the business* of Congress, and make it at best *slow and dilatory*. As far as this form will prevent the hurrying a bill thro' the house without due examination, the *objection* itself becomes an *advantage*—at most these checks on the supreme authority can have no further effect than to *delay or destroy a good bill*, but cannot *pass a bad one*; and I think it much better in the main, to *lose a good bill* than to suffer a *bad one to pass* into a law.—Besides it is not to be supposed that clear, plain cases will meet with embarrassment, and it is most safe that untried, doubtful, difficult matters should pass thro' the gravest and fullest discussion, before the sanction of law is given to them.

But what is to be done if the *two houses grow jealous and ill-natured*, and after all their information and advice, grow out of humor and insincere, and *no concurrence can be obtained*?—I answer, *sit still and do nothing* till they get into better humor: I think this much better than to pass laws in such a temper and spirit, as the objection supposes.

It is however an ill compliment to so many grave personages, to suppose them capable of throwing aside their reason, and giving themselves up like children to the control of their passions; or, if this should happen for a *moment*, that it should continue any *length of time*, is hardly to be presumed of a body of men placed in such high stations of *dignity and importance*, with the *eyes of all the world* upon them—but if they should, after all, be capable of this, I think it madness to set them to making laws, during such fits—it is best, when they are in *no condition to do good*, to keep them *from doing hurt*,—and if they do not grow wiser in reasonable time, I know of nothing better, than to be ashamed of our old appointments, and make new ones.



But what if the country is invaded, or some other exigency happens, so pressing that the safety of the State requires an immediate resolution?—I answer, what would you do if such a case should happen, where there was *but one house, unchecked, but equally divided*, so that a legal vote could *not be obtained*. The matter is certainly equally difficult and embarrassed in both cases: but in the case proposed, I know of no better way than that which the *Romans* adopted on the like occasion, viz. that both houses meet in one chamber, and choose a *dictator*, who should have and exercise the *whole power of both houses*, till such time as they should be able to concur in displacing him, and that the whole power of the two houses should be suspended in the mean time.

5. I further propose, that no grant of money whatever shall be made, without *an appropriation*, and that *rigid penalties* (no matter how great, in my opinion the halter would be mild enough) shall be inflicted on any person, however august his station, who should *give order, or vote for* the payment, or actually pay one shilling of such money to any *other purpose than that of its appropriation*, and that no order whatever of any superior in office shall justify such payment, but every order shall express what funds it is drawn upon, and what appropriation it is to be charged to, or the order shall not be paid.

This kind of embezzlement is of so fatal a nature, that *no measures or bounds* are to be observed in curing it; when ministers will set forth the most *specious* and *necessary occasions* for money, and *induce* the people to pay it in full tale; and when they have gotten possession of it, to neglect the great objects for which it was given, and *pay it*, sometimes *squander it away*, for different purposes, oftentimes for *useless, yea, hurtful ones*, yea, often even to *bribe* and *corrupt* the very officers of government, to *betray* their trust, and *contaminate the State*, even in its *public offices*—to force people to *buy their own destruction*, and *pay for it with their hard labor*, the very sweat of their brow, is a *crime* of so high a nature, that I know not any *gibbet too cruel* for such offenders.

6. I would further propose, that the aforesaid *great ministers of state* shall compose a *Council of State*, to whose number Congress may add *three others*, viz. one from *New-England*, one from the *middle States*, and one from the *southern States*, one of which to be *appointed President* by Congress; to all of whom shall be committed the *supreme executive authority of the States* (all and singular of them ever accountable to Congress) who shall superintend all

the executive departments, and appoint all executive officers, who shall ever be accountable to, and removable for just cause by, them or Congress, *i.e.* either of them.

7. I propose further, that the powers of Congress, and all the other departments acting under them, shall all be *restricted to such matters only of general necessity and utility* to all the States, as cannot come *within the jurisdiction* of any particular State, or to which the *authority* of any particular State is not *competent*: so that each particular State shall enjoy all sovereignty and supreme authority to all intents and purposes, excepting only those high authorities and powers by them delegated to Congress, for the purposes of the general union.

There remains one very important article still to be discussed, viz. what methods the constitution shall point out, to *enforce the acts and requisitions of Congress* thro' the several States; and how the States which *refuse or delay* obedience to such acts or requisitions, shall be treated: this, I know, is a particular of the greatest delicacy, as well as of the utmost importance; and therefore, I think, ought to be decidedly settled by the constitution, in our coolest hours, whilst no passions or prejudices exist, which may be excited by the great interests or strong circumstances of any particular case which may happen.

I know that supreme authorities are liable to err, as well as subordinate ones. I know that courts may be in the wrong, as well as the people; such is the imperfect state of human nature in all ranks and degrees of men; but we must take human nature as it is; it cannot be mended; and we are compelled both by wisdom and necessity, to adopt such methods as promise the greatest *attainable* good, tho' perhaps not the greatest *possible*, and such as are liable to the *fewest* inconveniences, tho' not altogether *free* of them.

This is a question of such magnitude, that I think it necessary to premise the great natural principles on which its decision ought to depend—In the present state of human nature, all human life is a life of chances; it is impossible to make any interest so certain, but there will be a chance against it; and we are in all cases obliged to adopt a chance against us, in order to bring ourselves within the benefit of a greater chance in our favor; and that calculation of chances which is grounded on the great natural principles of truth and fitness, is of all others the most likely to come out right.

1. *No laws of any State whatever, which do not carry in them a force which extends to their effectual and final execution, can afford*

*a certain or sufficient security to the subject:* this is too plain to need any proof.

2. *Laws or ordinances of any kind (especially of august bodies of high dignity and consequence) which fail of execution, are much worse than none;* they weaken the government; expose it to contempt; destroy the confidence of all men, natives and foreigners, in it; and expose both aggregate bodies and individuals, who have placed confidence in it, to many ruinous disappointments, which they would have escaped, had no law or ordinance been made: therefore,

3. To appoint a Congress with powers to do *all acts necessary for the support and uses of the union;* and at the same time to leave all the States at liberty to *obey them or not with impunity,* is, in every view, the grossest *absurdity*, worse than a state of nature without any supreme authority at all, and at best a ridiculous effort of childish nonsense: and of course,

4. Every State in the Union is under the highest obligations to *obey the supreme authority of the whole,* and in the *highest degree amenable to it,* and subject to the *highest censure for disobedience*—Yet all this notwithstanding, I think the soul that sins should die, *i.e.* the censure of the great supreme power, ought to be so directed, if possible, as to light on those persons, who have betrayed their country, and exposed it to dissolution, by opposing and rejecting that supreme authority, which is the *band of our union,* and from whence proceeds the *principal strength and energy* of our government.

I therefore propose, that every *person* whatever, whether in *public* or *private* character, who shall, by *public vote* or other *overt act,* *disobey the supreme authority,* shall be *amenable to Congress,* shall be *summoned and compelled to appear* before Congress, and, on due conviction, *suffer such fine, imprisonment, or other punishment,* as the supreme authority shall judge requisite.

It may be objected here, that this will make a Member of Assembly accountable to Congress for his vote in Assembly; I answer, it does so *in this only case,* viz. when that vote is to *disobey the supreme authority:* no Member of Assembly can have right to give *such a vote,* and therefore ought to be punished for so doing—When the supreme authority is disobeyed, the government must lose its energy and effect, and of course the Empire must be shaken to its very foundation.

A government which is but *half executed,* or whose *operations may all be stopped by a single vote,* is the most dangerous of all



*institutions*.—See the present *Poland*, and ancient *Greece* buried in ruins, in consequence of this fatal error in their policy. A government which has not energy and effect, can never afford protection or security to its subjects, *i.e.* must ever be ineffectual to its own ends.

I cannot therefore admit, that the great ends of our Union should lie at the mercy of a single State, or that the energy of our government should be checked by a single disobedience, or that such disobedience should ever be sheltered from censure and punishment; the consequence is too capital, too fatal to be admitted. Even tho' I know very well that a supreme authority, with all its dignity and importance, is subject to passions like other lesser powers, that they may be and often are heated, violent, oppressive, and very tyrannical; yet I know also, that perfection is not to be hoped for in this life, and we must take all institutions with their natural defects, or reject them altogether: I will guard against these abuses of power as far as possible, but I cannot give up all government, or destroy its necessary energy, for fear of these abuses.

But to fence them out as far as possible, and to give the States as great a check on the supreme authority, as can consist with its necessary energy and effect,

I propose that any State may petition Congress to repeal any law or decision which they have made, and if *more than half the States* do this, the *law or decision shall be repealed*, let its nature or importance be however great, excepting only such acts as *create funds for the public credit*, which shall never be repealed till their end is effected, or other funds equally effectual are substituted in their places; but Congress shall not be obliged to repeal any of these acts, so petitioned against, till they have time to lay the reasons of such acts before such petitioning States, and to receive their answer; because such petitions may arise from sudden heats, popular prejudices, or the publication of matters false in fact, and may require time and means of cool reflection and the fullest information, before the final decision is made: but if after all, *more than half* the States persist in their demand of a repeal, it shall take place.

The reason is, the *uneasiness of a majority* of States affords a strong *presumption* that the act is *wrong*, for uneasiness arises much more frequently from *wrong* than *right*; but if the act was *good and right*, it would still be better to *repeal* and *lose* it, than to *force* the execution of it against the opinion of a *major part*

of the States; and lastly, if every act of Congress is subject to this repeal, Congress itself will have *stronger inducement* not only to examine well the several acts under their consideration, but also to *communicate the reasons* of them to the States, than they would have, if their simple vote gave the *final stamp of irrevocable authority* to their acts.

Further I propose, that if the *execution of any act or order of the supreme authority shall be opposed by force in any of the States* (which God forbid!) it shall be lawful for Congress to send into such State *a sufficient force to suppress it*.

On the whole, I take it that the very *existence and use of our union* essentially depends on the *full energy and final effect* of the laws made to support it; and therefore I *sacrifice all other considerations to this energy and effect*, and if our UNION is not worth this purchase, we must give it up—the *nature of the thing* does not admit any other alternative.

I do contend that *our UNION is worth this purchase—with it*, every individual rests secure under its protection against foreign or domestic insult and oppression—*without it*, we can have no security against the oppression, insult, and invasion of foreign powers; for no single State is of importance enough to be an object of treaty with them, nor, if it was, could it bear the expense of such treaties, or support any character or respect in a dissevered state, but must lose all respectability among the nations abroad.

We have a very *extensive trade*, which cannot be carried on with security and advantage, *without treaties* of commerce and alliance with foreign nations.

We have an *extensive western territory* which cannot otherwise be defended against the invasion of foreign nations, bordering on our frontiers, who will cover it with their own inhabitants, and we shall lose it for ever, and our extent of empire be thereby restrained; and what is worse, their numerous posterity will in future time drive ours into the sea, as the *Goths and Vandals* formerly conquered the *Romans* in like circumstances, unless we have the force of the Union to repel such invasions. We have, without the union, no security against the *inroads and wars of one State upon another*, by which our *wealth and strength*, as well as *ease and comfort*, will be devoured by enemies growing out of our own bowels.

I conclude then, that our UNION is not only of the most essential consequence to the well-being of the States in general, but to that

of every individual citizen of them, and of course ought to be supported, and made as useful and safe as possible, by a constitution which admits that *full energy and final effect of government which alone can secure its great ends and uses.*

In a dissertation of this sort, I would not wish to descend to *minutiæ*, yet there are some small matters which have important consequences, and therefore ought to be noticed. It is necessary that Congress should have all usual and necessary powers of *self-preservation and order*, e.g. to *imprison for contempt, insult, or interruption*, &c. and to *expel their own members* for due causes, among which I would rank that of *non-attendance* on the house, or *partial attendance* without such excuse as shall satisfy the house.

Where there is such a vast authority and trust devolved on Congress, and the grand and most important interests of the Empire rest on their decisions, it appears to me highly unreasonable that we should suffer their *august consultations to be suspended*, or their *dignity, authority, and influence lessened* by the *idleness, neglect, and non-attendance* of its members; for we know that the acts of a *thin house* do not usually carry with them the same degree of weight and respect as those of a *full house*.

Besides I think, when a man is deputed a delegate in Congress, and has undertaken the business, the *whole Empire* becomes of course possessed of a *right to his best and constant services*, which if any member refuses or neglects, the Empire is *injured* and ought to *resent the injury*, at least so far as to *expel and send him home*, that so his place may be *better* supplied.

I have one argument in favor of my whole plan, viz. it is so formed that no men of *dull intellects*, or *small knowledge*, or of *habits too idle* for constant attendance, or close and steady attention, can do the business with any tolerable degree of respectability, nor can they find either honor, profit, or satisfaction in being there, and of course, I could wish that the choice of the electors might never fall on *such a man*, or if it should, that he might have *sense enough* (of *pain* at least, if not of *shame*) to decline his acceptance.

For after all that can be done, I do not think that a good administration depends wholly on a good constitution and good laws, for insufficient or bad men will always make *bad work* and a *bad administration*, let the *constitution and laws be ever so good*; the management of able, faithful, and upright men alone can cause an administration to *brighten*, and the *dignity and wisdom* of an Empire to *rise into respect*; make *truth* the line



and measure of *public decision*; give *weight* and *authority* to the government, and *security* and *peace* to the subject.

We now hope that we are on the close of a war of mighty effort and great distress, against the greatest power on earth, whetted into the most keen resentment and savage fierceness, which can be excited by wounded pride, and which usually rises higher between brother and brother offended, than between strangers in contest. *Twelve* of the Thirteen United States have felt the actual and cruel invasions of the enemy, and *eleven of our capitals* have been under their power, first or last, during the dreadful conflict; but a good Providence, our own virtue and firmness, and the help of our friends, have enabled us to rise superior to all the power of our adversaries, and made them seek to be at peace with us.

During the extreme pressures of the war, indeed, many errors in our administration have been committed, when we could not have experience and time for reflection, to make us wise; but these will easily be *excused, forgiven, and forgotten*, if we can now, while at leisure, *find virtue, wisdom, and foresight enough to correct them*, and form such establishments, as shall secure the great ends of our union, and give dignity, force, utility, and permanency to our Empire.

It is a pity we should lose the honor and blessings which have cost us so dear, for want of wisdom and firmness in measures, which are essential to our preservation. It is now at our option, either to *fall back* into our original atoms, or *form such an union*, as shall command the *respect* of the world, and give *honor and security* to all our people.

This vast subject lies with mighty weight on my mind, and I have bestowed on it my utmost attention, and here offer the public the best thoughts and sentiments I am master of. I have confined myself in this dissertation entirely to the nature, reason, and truth of my subject, without once adverting to the reception it might meet with from men of different prejudices or interests. *To find the truth, not to carry a point, has been my object.*

I have not the vanity to imagine that my sentiments may be adopted; I shall have all the reward I wish or expect, if my dissertation shall throw any light on the great subject, shall excite an emulation of inquiry, and animate some abler genius to form a plan of greater perfection, less objectionable, and more useful.

## NOTES ADDED IN THE 1791 EDITION.

I. Forming a plan of *confederation*, or a *system of general government of the United States*, engrossed the attention of Congress from the declaration of independence, *July 4, 1776*, till the same was *completed by Congress, July 9, 1778*, and recommended to the several States for *ratification*, which finally took place, *March 1, 1781*; from which time the said confederation was considered as *the grand constitution of the general government*, and the whole administration was conformed to it.

And as it had stood the *test of discussion in Congress* for *two years*, before they completed and adopted it, and *in all the States* for *three years more*, before it was finally ratified, one would have thought that it must have been a very finished and perfect plan of government.

But on trial of it in practice, it was found to be extremely *weak, defective, totally inefficient, and altogether inadequate to its great ends and purposes*. For,

1. It *blended the legislative and executive powers* together in one body.
2. This body, viz. Congress, consisted of *but one house*, without any *check* upon their resolutions.
3. The powers of Congress in very few instances were *definitive and final*; in the most important articles of government they could do no more than *recommend* to the several States; the consent of *every one of which* was necessary to give *legal sanction to any act* so recommended.
4. They could *assess and levy no taxes*.
5. They could institute and execute *no punishments*, except in the military department.
6. They had no power of *deciding or controlling the contentions and disputes of different States* with each other.
7. They could not *regulate the general trade*: or,
8. Even make laws to secure either *public treaties* with foreign States, or the *persons of public ambassadors*, or to *punish violations or injuries* done to either of them.
9. They could institute no *general judiciary powers*.
10. They could *regulate no public roads, canals, or inland navigation, &c. &c. &c.*

And what caps all the rest was, that (whilst under such an inefficient political constitution, the *only chance* we had of any tolerable administration lay wholly in the *prudence and wisdom of the men* who happened to take the *lead* in our public councils) it was fatally provided by the absurd *doctrine of rotation*, that if any Member of Congress by *three years' experience and application*, had qualified himself to manage our public affairs with consistency and fitness, that he should be *constitutionally and absolutely rendered incapable of serving any longer*, till by *three years' discontinuance*, he had pretty well lost the cue or train of the public counsels, and forgot the ideas and plans which made his services useful and important; and, in the mean time, his place should be supplied by a *fresh man*, who had *the whole matter to learn*, and when he had *learned it*, was to give place to another *fresh man*; and so on to the end of the chapter.

The sensible mind of the United States, by long experience of the *fatal mischiefs of anarchy*, or (which is about the same thing) of this *ridiculous, inefficient form of government*, began to apprehend that there was *something wrong* in our policy, which ought to be redressed and mended; but nobody undertook to delineate the necessary amendments.

I was then pretty much at leisure, and was fully of opinion (tho' the sentiment at that time would not very well bear) that it would be ten times easier to *form a new constitution* than to *mend the old one*. I therefore sat myself down to sketch out the *leading principles* of that *political constitution*, which I thought necessary to the *preservation and happiness* of the United States of *America*, which are comprised in this Dissertation.

I hope the reader will please to consider, that these are the original thoughts of a private individual, dictated by the nature of the subject only, long before the important theme became the great object of discussion, in the most dignified and important assembly, which ever sat or decided in *America*.

II. At the time when this Dissertation was written (*Feb. 16, 1783*) the defects and insufficiency of the Old Federal Constitution were universally felt and acknowledged; it was manifest, not only that the internal police, justice, security, and peace of the States could never be preserved under it, but the finances and public credit would necessarily become so embarrassed, precarious, and void of support, that no public movement, which depended on the revenue, could be managed with any effectual certainty: but tho' the public mind was under full conviction of all these mischiefs, and was contemplating a remedy, yet the public ideas were not at all concentrated, much less arranged into any new system or form of government, which would obviate these evils. Under these circumstances I offered this Dissertation to the public: how far the principles of it were adopted or rejected in the New Constitution, which was four years afterwards (*Sep. 17, 1787*) formed by the General Convention, and since ratified by all the States, is obvious to every one.

I wish here to remark the great particulars of my plan which were *rejected* by the Convention.

1. My plan was to keep the *legislative* and *executive* departments entirely *distinct*; the *one* to consist of the *two houses of Congress*, the other to rest entirely in the *Grand Council of State*.

2. I proposed to introduce a *Chamber of Commerce*, to consist of *merchants*, who should be *consulted* by the legislature in all matters of *trade and revenue*, and which should have the *conducting the revenue committed to them*.

The first of these the Convention *qualified*; the second they *say nothing* of, *i.e.* take no notice of it.

3. I proposed that the *great officers of state* should have the *perusal of all bills*, before they were *enacted* into laws, and should be required to give their *opinion of them*, as far as they *affected the public interest in their several departments*; which *report* of them Congress should cause to be *read* in their respective houses, and *entered* on their minutes. This is *passed over* without notice.

4. I proposed that *all public officers* appointed by the *executive* authority, should be amenable *both to them* and to the *legislative power*, and *removable* for just cause by *either* of them. This is *qualified* by the Convention.

And in as much as my sentiments in these respects were either *qualified* or totally *neglected* by the Convention, I suppose they were *wrong*; however, the whole matter is submitted to the politicians of the *present age*, and to *our posterity* in future.

In sundry other things, the Convention have gone *into minutiae*, *e.g.* respecting elections of *President, Senators, and Representatives* in Congress, &c.



which I proposed to leave *at large* to the wisdom and discretion of *Congress*, and of the *several States*.

*Great reasons* may doubtless be assigned for their decision, and perhaps some *little ones* for mine. *TIME*, the great *arbiter of all human plans*, may, after a while, give *his decision*; but neither the Convention nor myself will probably live to feel either the exultation or mortification of *his* approbation or disapprobation of *either of our plans*. But if any of these questions should in future time become objects of discussion, neither the *vast dignity of the Convention*, nor the *low, unnoticed state of myself*, will be at all considered in the debates; the *merits* of the matter, and the *interest connected with or arising out of it*, will alone dictate the decision.

Pelotiah Webster's dissertation, in 1783, upon the character of the Constitution needed by the thirteen United States, in order to the preservation and efficiency of their union and the foundation of a true national life, was the ablest exposure of the inadequacy of such organization as that under the Articles of Confederation, and the most definite outline of the principles of such a national constitution as was needed, which appeared in the critical period between the close of the Revolution and the Constitutional Convention of 1787; and, as such, a revival of attention to it is most useful and grateful, whether or not the student feels some of the claims for it made by Hannis Taylor to be extravagant. Pelotiah Webster was perhaps the most important American writer upon finance during the Revolution; and to the volume of his collected "Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finances, and Other Subjects" (Philadelphia, 1791), and to Mr. Taylor's interesting pamphlet upon him, embodying a reprint of his notable dissertation, the student is referred. He was born at Lebanon, Conn., in 1725, and graduated at Yale College in 1746, studied theology, and preached for a year. Removing to Philadelphia in 1755, he was a prosperous merchant there at the outbreak of the Revolution, was an ardent supporter of the patriot cause, and in 1776 began to write on the currency, earning so important a place as an economist as to be consulted by Congress concerning the resources of the country. As early as 1781 he proposed in one of his financial essays—the first proposition of this character—the calling of a "Continental Convention" to frame a new Constitution,—a proposition noticed by Madison. Two years later he published his memorable dissertation upon the Political Union and Constitution of the United States, reprinted in the present leaflet, a pamphlet which awakened so much attention that it was reprinted in Hartford and called forth an anonymous reply by Roger Sherman. See Bancroft's reference to it in his History of the Constitution of the United States, i. 86. When the Constitution was adopted, much as it failed to meet some of Webster's desires in particulars, he became one of the strongest pleaders for its ratification. Two of his pleas are included in the volume of his collected essays: one of these was reprinted by Paul Leicester Ford, in the volume of "Pamphlets on the Constitution," in which is also reprinted the pamphlet defending the Constitution by Noah Webster, his relative, who in 1787 was the head of an academy in Philadelphia. Pelotiah Webster died in Philadelphia in 1795.

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# Washington's Expedition to the French on the Ohio.

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL 1753-4.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*As it was thought adviseable by his Honour the Governor to have the following Account of my Proceedings to and from the FRENCH on OHIO, committed to Print; I think I can do no less than apologize, in some Measure, for the numberless Imperfections of it.*

*There intervened but one Day between my Arrival in WILLIAMSBURG, and the Time for the Council's Meeting, for me to prepare and transcribe, from the rough Minutes I had taken in my Travels, this Journal; the writing of which only was sufficient to employ me closely the whole Time, consequently admitted of no Leisure to consult of a new and proper Form to offer it in, or to correct or amend the Diction of the old: Neither was I apprised, nor did in the least conceive, when I wrote this for his Honour's Perusal, that it ever would be published, or even have more than a cursory Reading; till I was informed, at the Meeting of the present General Assembly, that it was already in the Press.*

*There is nothing can recommend it to the Public, but this. Those Things which came under the Notice of my own Observation, I have been explicit and just in a Recital of:—Those which I have gathered from Report, I have been particularly cautious not to augment, but collected the Opinions of the several Intelligencers, and selected from the whole, the most probable and consistent Account.*

G. WASHINGTON,

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1753.

I was commissioned and appointed by the Honourable *Robert Dinwiddie*, Esq; Governor, &c., of *Virginia*, to visit and deliver a letter to the Commandant of the *French* forces on the *Ohio*, and set out on the intended Journey the same day: The next, I arrived at *Fredericksburg*, and engaged Mr. *Jacob Vanbraam*,\* to be my *French* interpreter; and proceeded with him to *Alexandria*, where we provided Necessaries. From thence we went to *Winchester*, and got Baggage, Horses, &c; and from thence we pursued the new Road to *Wills-Creek*,† where we arrived the 14th of *November*.

Here I engaged Mr. *Gist* ‡ to pilot us out, and also hired four others as Servitors, *Barnaby Currin* and *John Mac-Quire*, Indian Traders, *Henry Steward*, and *William Jenkins*; and in company with those persons, left the Inhabitants the Day following.

The excessive Rains and vast Quantity of Snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. *Frazier's*, an Indian Trader, at the Mouth of *Turtle Creek*, on *Monongahela* [River], till *Thursday*, the 22d. We were informed here, that Expresses had been sent a few Days before to the Traders down the River, to acquaint them with the *French* General's death, and the Return of the major Part of the *French* Army into Winter Quarters.

The Waters were quite impassable, without swimming our Horses; which obliged us to get the Loan of a Canoe from *Frazier*, and to send *Barnaby Currin* and *Henry Steward* down the *Monongahela*, with our Baggage, to meet us at the Forks of *Ohio*, about 10 miles, there to cross the *Aligany*.§

As I got down before the Canoe, I spent some time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork; which I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water; and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it, very convenient for Building: The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right Angles: *Aligany* bearing N. E. and *Monongahela* S. E. The former of these two is a very rapid and

\* Van Braam was a Hollander, and had served under Laurence Washington in the Carthagena expedition. He had been fencing-master to Washington.

† Now Cumberland, Md.

‡ Christopher Gist. His journal will be found in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Series 3, vol. v., p. 102.

§ The *Ohio* and *Aligany* are the same River.—Note in Original.



swift running Water; the other deep and still, without any perceptible Fall.

About two Miles from this, on the South East Side of the river, at the Place where the *Ohio* Company intended to erect a Fort, lives *Shingiss*, king of the *Delawares*: We called upon him, to invite him to Council at the *Loggs-Town*.

As I had taken a good deal of Notice Yesterday of the Situation at the *Forks*, my Curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages; especially the latter: For a Fort at the *Forks* would be equally well situated on the *Ohio*, and have the entire Command of the *Monongahela*: which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well designed for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep still Nature. Besides a fort at the *Fork* might be built at a much less Expence, than at the other Place.

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill whereon it must stand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then descending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expensive, to make a sufficient Fortification there.—The whole Flat upon the Hill must be taken-in, the Side next the Descent made extremely high, or else the Hill itself cut away: Otherwise, the Enemy may raise Batteries within that Distance without being exposed to a single Shot from the Fort.

*Shingiss* attended us to the *Loggs-Town*, where we arrived between Sun-setting and Dark, the 25th Day after I left *Williamsburg*. We travelled over some extreme good and bad Land, to get to this Place.—

As soon as I came into Town, I went to *Monakatoocha* (as the Half-king was out at his hunting-Cabbin on little *Beaver-Creek*, about 15 Miles off) and informed him by *John Davison*, my *Indian* Interpreter, that I was sent a Messenger to the *French* General; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the *Six Nations*, to acquaint them with it.—I gave him a String of Wampum, and a Twist of Tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King; which he promised to do by a Runner in the Morning, and for other Sachems.—I invited him and the other great Men present to my Tent, where they stay'd about an Hour and return'd.

According to the best Observations I could make, Mr. *Gist's* new Settlement (which we pass'd by) bears about W. N. W. 70 Miles from *Wills-Creek*; *Shanapins*, or the *Forks* N. by W. or

N. N. W. about 50 Miles from that; and from thence to the *Loggs-Town*, the course is nearly West about 18 or 20 Miles: so that the whole Distance, as we went and computed it, is at least 135 or 140 Miles from our back Inhabitants.

25th. Came to Town four or ten *Frenchmen* who had deserted from a Company at the *Kuskuskas*, which lies at the Mouth of this River. I got the following Account from them. They were sent from *New-Orleans* with 100 men, and 8 Canoe-Loads of Provisions to this Place; where they expected to have met the same Number of Men, from the Forts on this Side Lake *Erie*, to convey them and the Stores up, who were not arrived when they ran-off.

I enquired into the Situation of the *French*, on the *Mississippi*, their Number, and what Forts they had built. They inform'd me, That there were four small Forts between *New Orleans* and the *Black-Islands*,\* garrison'd with about 30 or 40 Men, and a few small Pieces in each. That at *New Orleans*, which is near the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, there are 35 Companies, of 40 Men each, with a pretty strong Fort mounting 8 Carriage Guns; and at the *Black-Islands* there are several Companies, and a Fort with 6 Guns. The *Black-Islands* are about 130 Leagues above the Mouth of the *Ohio*, which is about 350 above *New-Orleans*. They also acquainted me that there was a small palisado'd Fort on the *Ohio*, at the Mouth of the *Obaish* about 60 Leagues from the *Mississippi*. The *Obaish* heads near the West End of Lake *Erie*, and affords the Communication between the *French* on *Mississippi* and those on the Lakes. These Deserters came up from the lower *Shanoah* Town with one *Brown*, an *Indian* Trader, and were going to *Philadelphia*.

About 3 o'Clock this Evening the Half-King came to Town. I went up and invited him with *Davison*, privately, to my Tent; and desir'd him to relate some of the Particulars of his Journey to the *French* Commandant, and Reception there: Also to give me an account of the Ways and Distance. He told me that the nearest and levellest Way was now impassable, by Reason of many large mirey Savannas; that we must be obliged to go by *Venango*,† and should not get to the near Fort under 5 or 6 Nights Sleep, good Travelling. When he went to the Fort he said he was received in a very stern Manner by the late Com-

\* Washington was here evidently misled by the sound, and mistook Illinois for Isles Noires, that is Black Islands.

† Venango was at the meeting of French Creek and the Alleghany River.

mander; who ask'd him very abruptly, what he had come about, and to declare his Business: Which he said he did in the following Speech:—

Fathers, I am come to tell you your own Speeches; what your own Mouths have declared. Fathers, You in former Days, set a silver Bason before us, wherein there was the Leg of a Beaver, and desir'd all the Nations to come and eat of it; to eat in Peace and Plenty, and not to be churlish to one another: and that if any such Person should be found to be a Disturber, I here lay down by the Edge of the Dish a Rod, which you must scourge them with; and if I your Father, should get foolish, in my old Days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

Now Fathers, it is you who are the Disturbers in this Land, by coming and building your Towns; and taking it away unknown to us, and by Force.

Fathers, We kindled a fire a long Time ago, at a Place called *Montreal*, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our Land. I now desire you may dispatch to that Place; for be it known to you, Fathers, that this is our Land, and not yours.

Fathers, I desire you may hear me in Civilness; if not, we must handle that Rod which was laid down for the Use of the abstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable Manner, like our Brothers the *English*, we should not have been against your trading with us, as they do; BUT TO COME, FATHERS, AND BUILD HOUSES UPON OUR LAND, AND TO TAKE IT BY FORCE, IS WHAT WE CANNOT SUBMIT TO.

Fathers, Both you and the *English* are white, we live in a Country between; therefore the Land belongs to neither one nor t'other: But the Great Being above allow'd it to be a place of Residence for us; so Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the *English*: for I will keep you at Arm's length. I lay this down as a Trial for both, to see which will have the greatest Regard to it, and that Side we will stand by and make equal shares with us. Our Brothers, the *English*, have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this Land.

This he said was the substance of what he spoke to the General, who made this Reply.

Now my child, I have heard your Speech: you spoke first, but it is my Time to speak now. Where is my Wampum that you took away, with the Marks of towns in it? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the Land with; but you need not put yourself to the Trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of Flies, or Mosquitos, for *Indians* are such as those. I tell you, down that River I will go, and will build upon it, according to my command. If the River was block'd up, I have Forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my Feet all that Stand in Opposition, together with their Alliances; for my Force is as the Sand upon the Sea Shore: therefore, here is your Wampum, I fling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say this Land belongs to you, but there is not the Black of my Nail yours. I saw that Land sooner than you did, before the Shannoahs and you were at War: *Lead* was the Man



who went down and took Possession of that River: It is my Land, and I will have it, let who will stand-up for, or say-against it. I'll buy and sell with the *English* (*mockingly*). If People will be rul'd by me, they may expect kindness, but not else.

The Half-King told me he enquired of the General after two *Englishmen* who were made Prisoners, and received this Answer.

Child, you think it is a very great Hardship that I made Prisoners of those two People at *Venango*. Don't you concern yourself with it: We took and carried them to *Canada*, to get Intelligence of what the *English* were doing in *Virginia*.

He informed me that they had built two Forts, one on Lake *Erie*,\* and another on *French-Creek*† near a small Lake about 15 Miles asunder, and a large Waggon Road between: They are both built after the same Model, but different in the Size; that on the Lake the largest. He gave me a Plan of them, of his own drawing.

The *Indians* enquired very particularly after their Brothers in *Carolina* Goal.

They also asked what sort of Boy it was who was taken from the *South-Branch*; for they were told by some *Indians*, that a Party of *French Indians* had carried a white Boy by the *Kuskuska* Town, towards the Lakes.

26th. We met in Council at the *Long-House*, about 9 o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows:

Brothers, I have called you together in Council by order of your Brother, the Governor of *Virginia*, to acquaint you, that I am sent, with all possible Dispatch, to visit, and deliver a Letter to the *French* Commandant, of very great Importance to your Brothers, the *English*; and I dare say, to you their Friends and allies.

I was desired, Brothers, by your Brother the Governor, to call upon you, the Sachems of the Nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your Advice and Assistance to proceed the nearest and best Road to the *French*. You see, Brothers, I have gotten thus far on my Journey.

His Honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young Men, to conduct and provide Provisions for us on our Way; and be a safeguard against those *French Indians* who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken this particularly to you Brothers, because his Honour our Governor treats you as good Friends and Allies; and holds you in great Esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this String of Wampum.

\* Fort Presque Isle, within the present limits of Erie.

† Fort le Bœuf. It stood near the present town of Waterford, Pa.

After they had considered for some Time on the above Discourse, the Half-King got up and spoke:—

Now, my Brothers, in regard to what my Brother the Governor has desired me, I return you this answer.

I rely upon you as a Brother ought to do, as you say we are Brothers and one People: We shall put Heart in Hand and speak to our Fathers the *French* concerning the Speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavour to be your Guard.

Brother, as you have asked my Advice, I hope you will be ruled by it and stay till I can provide a Company to go with you. The *French* Speech-Belt is not here. I have it to go for to my hunting Cabbin: Likewise the People whom I have ordered in, are not yet come, nor cannot till the third Night from this: till which Time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

I intend to send a Guard of *Mingo's Shannoah's* and *Delawares*, that our Brothers may see the Love and Loyalty we bear them.

As I had Orders to make all possible Dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my Inclinations, I thanked him in the most suitable Manner I could; and told him, that my Business required the greatest Expedition, and would not admit of that Delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the Time he had appointed, and told me, that he could not consent to our going without a Guard, for Fear some Accident should befall us and draw a Reflection upon him. Besides, says he, this is a Matter of no small Moment, and must not be entered into without due Consideration: For now I intend to deliver up the *French-Speech-Belt*, and make the *Shanoahs* and *Delawares* do the same. And accordingly he gave orders to King *Shingiss*, who was present, to attend on Wednesday Night with the Wampum; and two Men of their Nation to be in Readiness to set-out with us next Morning. As I found it was impossible to get-off without affronting them in the most egregious Manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a String of Wampum which I met with at Mr. *Frazier's*, and which they had sent with a Speech to his Honour the Governor, to inform him, that three Nations of *French Indians*, viz: *Chippoways*, *Ottoways*, and *Orundaks* had taken-up the Hatchet against the *English*; and desired them to repeat it over again: But this they postponed doing till they met in full Council with the *Shannoahs* and *Delaware* Chiefs.

27th. Runners were now dispatched very early for the *Shannoah* Chiefs. The Half-King set out himself to fetch the *French-Speech-Belt* from his hunting Cabbin.

28th. He returned this Evening, and came with *Monokatoocha*, and two other Sachems to my Tent, and begged (as they had complied with his Honour the Governor's Request, in providing Men, &c.) to know on what Business we were going to the *French*? this was a Question I all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory Answers to, as I could; which allayed their Curiosity a little.

*Monokatoocha* informed me, that an *Indian* from *Venango* brought News, a few Days ago, that the *French* had called all the *Mingo's*, *Delawares*, &c, together at that Place; and told them, that they intended to have been down the River this Fall, but the Waters were growing cold, and the Winter advancing, which obliged them to go into Quarters: But that they might assuredly expect them in the Spring, with a far greater Number; and desired that they might be quite passive, and not to intermeddle, unless they had a Mind to draw all their Force upon them: For that they expected to fight the *English* three Years (as they supposed there would be some Attempts made to stop them), in which Time they should conquer: But that if they should prove equally Strong, they and the *English* would join to cut them all off, and divide the Land between them: That though they had lost their General, and some few of their Soldiers, yet there were Men enough to reinforce them, and make them masters of the *Ohio*.

This Speech, he said, was delivered to them by one Captain *Joncaire*, their Interpreter in Chief, living at *Venango*, and a Man of Note in the Army.

29th. The Half-King and *Monokatoocha* came very early, and begged me to stay one Day more: For notwithstanding they had used all the Diligence in their Power, the *Shanoah* Chiefs had not brought the Wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in To-night; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived.—When I found them so pressing in their Request, and knew that returning of Wampum was the abolishing of Agreements; and giving this up, was shaking-off all Dependance upon the *French*, I consented to stay, as I believed an Offence offered at this Crisis, might be attended with greater ill Consequence, than another Day's Delay. They also informed me, that *Shingiss* could not get-in his Men; and was prevented from coming himself by his Wife's Sickness (I believe, by Fear of the *French*); but that the Wampum of that Nation was lodged with *Kustaloga* one of their Chiefs at *Venango*.



In the Evening late they came again and acquainted me that the *Shannoahs* were not yet arrived, but that it should not retard the Prosecution of our Journey. He delivered in my Hearing, the Speeches that were to be made to the *French* by *Jeskakake*, one of their old Chiefs, which was giving-up the Belt the late Commandant had asked for, and repeating near the same Speech he himself had done before.

He also delivered a String of Wampum to this Chief, which was sent by King *Shingiss*, to be given to *Kustaloga*, with orders to repair to the *French*, and deliver up the Wampum.

He likewise gave a very large String of black and white Wampum, which was to be sent up immediately to the Six Nations, if the *French* refused to quit the Land at this Warning; which was the third and last Time, and was the Right of this *Jeskakake* to deliver.

30th. Last Night the great Men assembled to their Council-House, to consult further about this Journey, and who were to go: The Result of which was, that only three of their Chiefs, with one of their best Hunters, should be our Convoy. The Reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at Council the 26th, was, that a greater Number might give the *French* Suspensions of some bad Design, and cause them to be treated rudely: But I rather think they could not get their Hunters in.

We set out about 9 o'Clock with the Half-King *Jeskakake*, *White Thunder*, and the Hunter; and travelled on the Road to *Venango*, where we arrived the 4th of *December*, without any Thing remarkable happening but a continued Series of bad Weather.

This is an old *Indian* Town, situated at the Mouth of *French* Creek on *Ohio*; and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the *Loggs-Town*, but more than 70 the Way we were obliged to go.

We found the *French* Colours hoisted at a House from which they had driven Mr. *John Frazier*, an *English* Subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander resided. There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. *Joncaire*, informed me, that he had the Command of the *Ohio*: But that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, where he advised me to apply for an Answer. He invited us to sup with them; and treated us with the greatest Complaisance.

The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appeared in their

Conversation; and gave a Licence to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely.

They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the *Ohio*, and by G—— they would do it: For that altho' they were sensible the *English* could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Discovery made by one *La Salle* 60 Years ago; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent our settling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of some Families moving-out in Order thereto. From the best Intelligence I could get, there have been 1,500 Men on their Side *Ontario* Lake: But upon the Death of the General all were recalled to about 6 or 700, who were left to garrison four Forts, 150 or thereabouts in each. The first of them is on *French-Creek* near a small Lake, about 60 Miles from *Venango*, near N. N. W. the next lies on *Lake Erie*, where the greater Part of their Stores are kept, about 15 Miles from the other. From this it is 120 Miles to the carrying Place at the Falls of *Lake Erie* where there is a small Fort; which they lodge their Goods at, in bringing them from *Montreal*, the Place whence all their Stores come from. The next Fort lies about 20 Miles from this, on *Ontario-Lake*. Between this Fort and *Montreal* there are three others, the first of which is near opposite to the *English* Fort *Oswego*. From the Fort on *Lake Erie* to *Montreal* is about 600 Miles, which they say requires no more, if good Weather, than four Weeks Voyage, if they go in Barks or large Vessels, so that they may cross the Lake: But if they come in Canoes it will require 5 or 6 Weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the Shore.

5th. Rain'd excessively all Day, which prevented our Traveling. Capt. *Joncaire* sent for the Half-King, as he had but just heard that he came with me: He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best Manner I was capable, and told him, I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in Dispraise of *Indians* in general. But another Motive prevented me from bringing them into his Company: I knew he was Interpreter, and a Person of very great Influence among the *Indians*, and had lately used all possible Means to draw them over to their Interest; therefore I was desirous of giving no Opportunity that could be avoided.

When they came in, there was great Pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him; made several trifling Presents; and applied Liquor so fast, that they were soon rendered incapable of the Business they came about, notwithstanding the Caution which was given.

6th. The Half-King came to my Tent, quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the *French*. I fain would have prevented his speaking any Thing till he came to the Commandant, but could not prevail. He told me that at this Place a Council Fire was kindled, where all their Business with these People was to be transacted; and that the Management of the *Indian* affairs was left solely to Monsieur *Joncaire*. As I was desirous of knowing the Issue of this, I agreed to stay: But sent our Horses a little way up *French* Creek to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near Night.

About 10 o'Clock they met in Council. The King spoke much the same as he had before done to the General; and offered the *French* Speech-Belt which had before been demanded, with the Marks of four Towns on it, which Monsieur *Joncaire* refused to receive; but desired him to carry it to the Fort to the Commander.

7th. Monsieur *La Force*, Commissary of the *French* Stores, and three other Soldiers came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the *Indians* off To-day, as every Stratagem had been used to prevent their going-up with me. I had last Night, left *John Davison* (the *Indian* Interpreter whom I brought with me from Town), and strictly charged him not to be out of their Company, as I could not get them over to my Tent; for they had some Business with *Kustaloga*, and chiefly to know the Reason why he did not deliver up the *French* Belt which he had in Keeping: But I was obliged to send Mr. *Gist* over To-day to fetch them; which he did with great Persuasion.

At 11 o'Clock we set out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th by excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps. These we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the Creek, which was impossible, either by fording or rafting, the Water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good Land since we left *Venango*, and



through several extensive and very rich Meadows; one of which I believe was near four Miles in Length, and considerably wide in some Places.

12th. I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Business, and offered my Commission and Letter: Both of which he desired me to keep till the Arrival of Monsieur *Riparti* Captain, at the next Fort, who was sent for and expected every Hour.

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. *Lewis*, and named *Legardeur de St. Pierre*. He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier. He was sent over to take the Command immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me.

At 2 o'Clock the Gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the Letter, &c, again; which they received, and adjourned into a private Apartment for the Captain to translate, who understood a little *English*. After he had done it, the Commander desired I would walk-in, and bring my Interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

13th. The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War; which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, and making what Observations I could.

It is situated on the South or West Fork of *French* Creek, near the Water; and is almost surrounded by the Creek, and a small Branch of it which forms a Kind of Island. Four Houses compose the Sides. The Bastions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, standing more than 12 Feet above it, and sharp at Top: With Port-Holes cut for Cannon, and Loop-Holes for the small Arms to fire through. There are eight 6 *lb.* Pieces mounted, in each Bastion; and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate. In the Bastions are a Guard-House, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Commander's private Store: Round which are laid Plat-Forms for the Cannon and Men to stand on. There are several Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers Dwelling; covered, some with Bark and some with Boards, made chiefly of Logs. There are also several other Houses, such as Stables, Smiths Shop, &c.

I could get no certain Account of the Number of Men here: But according to the best Judgment I could form, there are an Hundred exclusive of Officers, of which there are many. I also gave Orders to the People who were with me, to take an exact

Account of the Canoes which were hauled-up to convey their Forces down in the Spring. This they did, and told 50 of Birch Bark, and 170 of Pine; besides many others which were blocked-out, in Readiness to make.

14th. As the Snow encreased very fast, and our Horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded; under the Care of *Barnaby Currin*, and two others, to make all convenient Dispatch to *Venango*, and there wait our Arrival, if there was a Prospect of the Rivers freezing: If not, then to continue down to *Shanapin's* Town, at the Forks of *Ohio*, and there to wait till we came to cross *Aliganey*; intending myself to go down by Water, as I had the Offer of a Canoe or two.

As I found many Plots concerted to retard the *Indians* Business, and prevent their returning with me; I endeavor'd all that lay in my Power to frustrate their Schemes, and hurry them on to execute their intended Design. They accordingly pressed for Admittance this Evening, which at Length was granted them, privately, with the Commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me, that he offer'd the Wampum to the Commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair Promises of Love and Friendship; said he wanted to live in Peace, and trade amicably with them, as a Proof of which he would send some Goods immediately down to the *Logg's*-Town for them. But I rather think the Design of that is, to bring away all our straggling Traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an Officer, &c, with them. And what rather confirms this Opinion, I was enquiring of the Commander, by what Authority he had made Prisoners of several of our *English* Subjects. He told me that the Country belong'd to them; that no *Englishman* had a Right to trade upon those Waters; and that he had Orders to make every Person Prisoner who attempted it on the *Ohio*, or the Waters of it.

I enquir'd of Capt. *Riparti* about the Boy who was carried by this Place, as it was done while the Command devolved on him, between the Death of the late General, and the Arrival of the present. He acknowledged, that a Boy had been carried past; and that the *Indians* had two or three white Men's Scalps (I was told by some of the *Indians* at *Venango* Eight) but pretended to have forgotten the Name of the Place which the Boy came from, and all the Particular Facts, though he had question'd him for some Hours, as they were carrying him past. I likewise enquired what they had done with *John Trotter* and

*James MacClocklan*, two *Pensylvania* Traders, whom they had taken, with all their Goods. They told me, that they had been sent to *Canada*, but were now returned Home.

This Evening I received an Answer to his Honour the Governor's Letter from the Commandant.

15th. The Commandant ordered a plentiful Store of Liquor, Provision, &c, to be put on Board our Canoe; and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every Artifice which he could invent to set our own *Indians* at Variance with us, to prevent their going 'till after our Departure. Presents, Rewards, and every Thing which could be suggested by him or his Officers.—I can't say that ever in my Life I suffered so much Anxiety as I did in this Affair: I saw that every Stratagem which the most fruitful Brain could invent, was practised, to win the Half-King to their Interest; and that leaving him here was giving them the Opportunity they aimed at.—I went to the Half-King and press'd him in the strongest Terms to go: He told me the Commandant would not discharge him 'till the Morning. I then went to the Commandant, and desired him to do their Business; and complain'd of ill Treatment: For keeping them, as they were Part of my Company, 'was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my Journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the Cause of their Stay; though I soon found it out:—He had promised them a present of Guns, &c, if they would wait 'till the morning.

As I was very much press'd, by the *Indians*, to wait this Day for them, I consented, on a Promise, That nothing should hinder them in the Morning.

16th. The *French* were not slack in their Inventions to keep the *Indians* this Day also: But as they were obligated, according to Promise, to give the Present, they then endeavoured to try the Power of Liquor; which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other Time than this; But I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his Word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing Passage down the Creek. Several Times we had like to have been staved against Rocks; and many Times were obliged all Hands to get out and remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals. At one Place the Ice had lodged and made it impassable by Water; therefore we were obliged to carry our Canoe across a



Neck of Land, a quarter of a Mile over. We did not reach *Venango*, till the 22d, where we met with our Horses.

This Creek is extremely crooked, I dare say the Distance between the Fort and *Venango* can't be less than 130 Miles, to follow the Meanders.

23d. When I got Things ready to set-off, I sent for the Half King, to know whether he intended to go with us, or by Water. He told me that *White-Thunder* had hurt himself much, and was sick and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a Canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a Day or two, and knew that Monsieur *Joncaire* would employ every Scheme to set him against the *English* as he had before done; I told him I hoped he would guard against his Flattery, and let no fine Speeches influence him in their Favour. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the *French* too well, for any Thing to engage him in their Behalf; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavour to meet at the Forks with *Joseph Campbell*, to deliver a Speech for me to carry to his Honour the Governor. He told me he would order the young Hunter to attend us, and get Provision, &c. if wanted.

Our Horses were now so weak and feeble, and the Baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the Necessaries which the Journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it; therefore myself and others (except the Drivers, who were obliged to ride) gave up our Horses for Packs, to assist along with the Baggage. I put myself in an *Indian* walking Dress, and continued with them three Days, till I found there was no Probability of their getting home in any reasonable Time. The Horses grew less able to travel every Day; the Cold increased very fast; and the Roads were becoming much worse by a deep Snow, continually freezing: Therefore as I was uneasy to get back, to make Report of my Proceedings to his Honour, the Governor, I determined to prosecute my Journey the nearest Way through the Woods, on Foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. Vanbraam in Charge of our Baggage: with Money and Directions to Provide Necessaries from Place to Place for themselves and Horses, and to make the most convenient Dispatch in Travelling.

I took my necessary Papers; pulled off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat. Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set-out with Mr. *Gist*, fitted in the same Manner, on *Wednesday* the 26th.

The Day following, just after we had passed a Place called the *Murdering-Town* (where we intended to quit the Path, and steer across the Country for *Shannapins* Town) we fell in with a Party of *French* Indians, who had lain in Wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. *Gist* or me, not 15 steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this Fellow into Custody, and kept him till about 9 o'clock at Night; Then let him go, and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop; that we might get the Start, so far, as to be out of the Reach of their Pursuit the next Day, since we were well assured they would follow our Tract as soon as it was light. The next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River about two Miles above *Shannapins*. We expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each Shore; The Ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast Quantities.

There was no Way for getting over but on a Raft; Which we set about with but one poor Hatchet, and finished just after Sun-setting. This was a whole Day's Work. Then set off; But before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice, in such a Manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put-out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by; when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with so much Violence against the Pole, that it jerked me out into ten Feet Water: but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs. Notwithstanding all our Efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore; but were obliged, as we were near an Island, to quit our Raft and make to it.

The Cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. *Gist* had all his Fingers, and some of his Toes frozen; but the water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting-off the Island, on the Ice, in the Morning, and went to Mr. *Frazier's*. We met here with 20 Warriors who were going to the *Southward* to War, but coming to a Place upon the Head of the great *Kunnaway*, where they found seven People killed and scalped (all but one Woman with very light Hair) they turned about and ran back for fear the Inhabitants should rise and take them as the Authors of the Murder. They report that the Bodies were lying about the House, and some of them much torn and eaten by Hogs. By the Marks which were left, they say they were *French* Indians of the *Ottaway* Nation, &c., who did it.

As we intended to take Horses here, and it required some Time to find them, I went-up about three Miles to the Mouth of *Yaugh-yaughane* to visit Queen *Aliquippa*, who had expressed great Concern that we passed her in going to the Fort. I made her a Present of a Matchcoat and a Bottle of Rum; which latter was thought much the best Present of the Two.

*Tuesday* the 1st Day of January, we left Mr. *Frazier's* House, and arrived at Mr. *Gist's* at *Monongahela* the 2d, where I bought a Horse, Saddle, etc: the 6th we met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores, for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio*, and the Day after some Families going out to settle: This Day we arrived at *Wills* Creek, after as fatiguing a Journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad Weather. From the first Day of December to the 15th, there was but one Day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly: and throughout the whole Journey we met with nothing but one continued Series of cold wet Weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable Lodgings: especially after we had quitted our Tent, which was some Screen from the Inclemency of it.

On the 11th I got to Belvoir: where I stopped one Day to take necessary Rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburgh the 16th; when I waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the French Commandant; and to give an Account of the Success of my Proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing Narrative as it contains the most remarkable Occurrences which happened in my Journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honour satisfied with my Conduct; for that was my Aim in undertaking the Journey, and chief Study throughout the Prosecution of it.

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#### INSTRUCTIONS FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“Whereas I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign the King of Great Britain;

“These are, therefore, to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown on the said river Ohio; and, having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and,



being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer thereto.

"On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the Half-King, to Monacatoocha, and other the sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard, as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further direction.

"You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication, and the time required for it.

"You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned, and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown; and from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

"When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary despatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return, as you may judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters, that may be ignorant of your character, and molest you.

"Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and a safe and speedy return, I am, &c.

"ROBERT DINWIDDIE."

"WILLIAMSBURG, 30 October, 1753."

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#### TO THE LORDS OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.

"WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, 29 January, 1754.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,

"This is to acquaint you, that Mr. Washington, the gentleman I sent to the commandant of the French forces on the river Ohio, returned here the 16th current.

"I enclose to your Lordships copies of my commission to him, his instructions, a letter of protection for his safe passing and repassing to the French camp, and my letter to the French commander. You also have enclosed a copy of Mr. Washington's journal, and the French commander's letter in answer to mine, which you may observe is written in a very loose style. He would have been glad if this messenger had been directed to proceed to Canada, which is a journey of eight hundred miles from the fort they have erected on a creek that runs into the Ohio, in order to prolong time. He complains that I did not write particulars of the ill treatment they had done to the British subjects,

contrary to treaties subsisting between the crowns of Britain and France, which I could not properly do, when Mr. Washington left this, as it was only from reports.

"Mr. Washington had my orders to make what observations he could on his journey, and to take a plan of their fort, which I now enclose to you, and from these directions his journal becomes so large. He assures me, that they had begun another fort at the mouth of the creek, which he thinks will be finished by the month of March.

"There were in the fort where the commander resided about three hundred regular forces, and nine hundred more were gone to winter-quarters, in order to save their provisions, to some forts on Lake Erie, but were to return by the month of March. Then they fully determined, with all the forces they could collect, which he understood would be fifteen hundred regulars, besides Indians, to go down the river Ohio, and proposed building many other forts, and that their chief residence would be at Logstown; and that they had near three hundred canoes to transport their soldiers, provisions, and ammunition.

"They cannot offer any reasons for this extraordinary conduct, but their general's orders, nor can they set up any just claim to these lands, but their determined resolution to possess themselves of them by force of arms, and the ill treatment of the British subjects in the time of peace, inconsistent with treaties, and I humbly think, contrary to the law of nations. I am, &c.

"ROBERT DINWIDDIE."

With the publication of his Journal to the Ohio in 1753-54, George Washington first appeared in print. His Journal was printed at Williamsburg, the Virginia capital, in January, 1754, immediately upon his return from his expedition to the French garrisons on the Ohio and the Alleghany, upon which he had been sent by Governor Dinwiddie the last of the previous October. This territory beyond the Alleghanies was claimed by both France and England, and both had made movements towards its settlement. The Ohio Company, organized in Virginia in 1749 for the purpose of occupying the Ohio valley, had Lawrence Washington, George Washington's oldest brother, as its chief manager, and Augustine Washington, another brother, was one of the first to engage in the scheme. There was probably no other household in America where this first plan for the English colonization of the West was so much talked about as at Mount Vernon; and there was probably no young man in America whose mind was more excited by it than that of George Washington, who at just this time, being seventeen years old, received the appointment of public surveyor through the influence of Lord Fairfax, and during the next three years was travelling back and forth between Mount Vernon and the country beyond the Blue Ridge, surveying in the Shenandoah valley, acquiring his first experience in woodcraft, making acquaintance with the Indians, and making acquaintance also with the broad western horizon. From that time the habit of thinking of the great West, with whose opening and development he was destined later to have so much to do, became forever fixed in the mind of George Washington.

The Ohio Company's ambitious schemes came to very little. The French, meantime, who from Canada kept a sharp watch, were in the field. They gathered cannon and stores upon Lake Erie, and in 1753 began the erection of a line of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio. These encroachments created much agitation in the colonies, especially in Virginia. Governor Dinwiddie determined to send a commissioner to warn off the French and win back the Indian tribes. An earlier messenger had lost heart when he got half-way, and dared not go up the Alleghany. Governor Dinwiddie knew a young man who was quite sure to go wherever ordered,—he had just received a letter from him on the situation in the West, in which he said, "A pusillanimous policy would ill suit the times,"—and to this young man the orders came the last day of October, 1753. It has been rightly said that few things in Washington's career are more remarkable than the fact that, while a mere youth of twenty-one, he was chosen for such a difficult and dangerous enterprise. The promptness and energy with

which he undertook it appears from his Journal, beginning the day on which the Governor's orders reached him.

Washington's Journal of his expedition was felt to be so important, in the excitement in Virginia at the time, that it was printed almost as soon as its last page was written and laid before the Governor, transcribed by Washington in a single day from the rough minutes taken on his travels. William Hunter, of Williamsburg, was the publisher of the little pamphlet, and two copies of the first edition are still in existence. That it was felt to be of considerable consequence at the time appears from the fact that before the year was over it was reprinted in England (London, T. Jeffreys, 1754); and one cannot doubt that it was read by William Pitt, who presently saw the importance of America so clearly that he made the struggle for the great West a cardinal feature of his policy. One likes to think also that it may have been read by Edmund Burke, who, of about Washington's own age, had recently come to London and that along with it he read Benjamin Franklin's plan for the union of the American colonies, adopted at Albany that same year. The London Edition of Washington's Journal was that used by Ford in his edition of Washington's Writings, from which the present leaflet is reprinted. As further illustrating Washington's services in connection with the West, the student is referred to Old South Leaflet No. 41, containing Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio in 1770, and No. 16, containing Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison in 1784,—both accompanied by full historical notes.

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# Milton's Treatise on Education.

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

I am long since persuaded, Master Hartlib, that to say or do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us than simply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheless to write now the reforming of education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induced, but by your earnest entreaties and serious conjurements; as having my mind for the present half diverted in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and use of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevailed with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions, which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island.

And, as I hear, you have obtained the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and some of the highest authority among us; not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have used in this matter, both here and beyond the seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think that, so reputed and so valued as you are, you would, to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an

unfit and overponderous argument; but that the satisfaction which you profess to have received, from those incidental discourses which we have wandered into, hath pressed and almost constrained you into a persuasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to try what God hath determined.

I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is, either of divine or human obligation, that you lay upon me; but will forthwith so down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea, which hath long, in silence, presented itself to me, of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavor to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreme need should be done sooner than spoken. To tell you, therefore, what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern Januas and Didactics, more than ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowered off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years, altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kinds of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; so that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man,

as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only.

Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful; first, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor stripplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit. Besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continued and judicious conversing among pure authors digested, which they scarce taste. Whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein.

And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense,) they present their young unmatriculated novices, at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows, where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate, to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful



knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them, with the sway of friends, either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity: some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to state affairs, with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery and courtships and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery; if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves (knowing no better) to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned.

I shall detain you now no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but straight conduct you to a hillside, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, than we have now to hale and drag our choicest and hopefulest wits to that asinine feast of sow thistles and brambles, which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one and twenty, less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at grammar and sophistry, is to be thus ordered.

First, to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an academy, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert

sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it done. This place should be at once both school and university, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of law, or physic, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from Lily to commencing, as they term it, master of art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility everywhere. This number, less or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their day's work into three parts as it lies orderly: their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies: first, they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue; but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward, so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next, to make them expert in the usefulest points of grammar, and withal to season them and win them early to the love of virtue and true labor, ere any flattering seducement or vain principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book of education would be read to them, whereof the Greeks have store, as Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first books of Quintilian, and some select pieces elsewhere.

But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations, upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal exercises, which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be,

but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage, infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of arithmetic; and soon after the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bedtime, their thoughts would be best taken up in the easy grounds of religion, and the story of scripture.

The next step would be to the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy; and, if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting, and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules' praises. Ere half these authors be read (which will soon be with plying hard and daily) they cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author the use of the globes, and all the maps, first, with the old names, and then with the new; or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of natural philosophy.

And at the same time might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescribed in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome, all the historical physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus are open before them, and, as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's natural questions, to Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus. And having thus passed the principles of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography with a general compact of physics, they may descend in mathematics to the instrumental science of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation. And in natural philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy.

Then also in course might be read to them, out of some not tedious writer, the institution of physic, that they may know the tempers, the humors, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity; which he who can wisely and timely do, is not only a great physician to himself and to his friends, but also may, at some time or other, save an army by this frugal and expenseless means only;



and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline; which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experience of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists; who doubtless would be ready, some for reward, and some to favor such a hopeful seminary. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facile and pleasant, Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius; and in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural part of Virgil.

By this time, years and good general precepts will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in ethics is called Proairesis; that they may with some judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound indoctrinating, to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice; while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, and those Locrian remnants; but still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work, under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangelists and apostolic scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of economics. And either now or before this, they may have easily learned, at any odd hour, the Italian tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholesome enough to let them taste some choice comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian; those tragedies, also, that treat of household matters, as *Trachiniæ*, *Alcestis*, and the like.

The next removal must be to the study of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies; that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shewn themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state. After this, they are to dive into the grounds of law, and legal justice; delivered first and with best warrant by Moses; and as far as human prudence can be trusted,

in those extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, and thence to all the Roman edicts and tables with their Justinian: and so down to the Saxon and common laws of England, and the statutes.

Sundays also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of theology, and church history, ancient and modern; and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gained, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect. When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice histories, heroic poems, and Attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themselves; which if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles.

And now, lastly, will be the time to read with them those organic arts, which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fittest style, of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well-couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric, taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus. To which poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that sublime art which in Aristotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play-writers be; and show them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things.

From hence, and not till now, will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in parliament or council, honor and attention would be waiting on their lips.

There would then also appear in pulpits other visage, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought than what we now sit under, oftentimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time, in a disciplinary way, from twelve to one and twenty: unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead, than upon themselves living. In which methodical course it is so supposed they must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times, for memory's sake, to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the embattling of a Roman legion. Now will be worth the seeing, what exercises and recreations may best agree, and become these studies.

The course of study hitherto briefly described is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, and such others, out of which were bred such a number of renowned philosophers, orators, historians, poets, and princes all over Greece, Italy, and Asia, besides the flourishing studies of Cyrene and Alexandria. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta; whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and these in their academies and Lyceum all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate shall be equally good both for peace and war. Therefore about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise, and due rest afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure according as their rising in the morning shall be early.

The exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath; is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valor and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength.



The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may, both with profit and delight, be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learned; either whilst the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be inexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it close under vigilant eyes, till about two hours before supper, they are, by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback, to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership, in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long war come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them, for want of just and wise discipline, to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft supplied; they would not suffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty men in a company, to quaff out or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant; yet in the meanwhile to be overmastered with a score or two of drunkards, the only soldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No, certainly, if they knew aught of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governors, they would not suffer these things.

But to turn to our own institute: besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches,

and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies, with prudent and staid guides, to all the quarters of the land: learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbors and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea-fight.

These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature; and if there were any secret excellence among them would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies, with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the *monsieurs* of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over, back again, transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshaws. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honor of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And, perhaps, then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

Now, lastly, for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate, I suppose is out of controversy. Thus, Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discoursed with you concerning the best and noblest way of education; not beginning, as some have done, from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope; many other circumstances also I could have mentioned, but this, to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in, that counts himself a teacher; but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses; yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay, than it now seems at distance, and

much more illustrious; howbeit, not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

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*Phillips Brooks on "Milton as an Educator," from his Address to the Massachusetts Teachers' Association, 1874.*

I want to speak of the education, and especially of one great educator of two centuries ago, and see if we can learn anything from him. I turn to this period with special interest, not merely because it is the one which has most attracted my own study, but because it is one that so profoundly merits the study of us all. The seventeenth century is really the first thoroughly modern century of English life. The seventeenth century Englishman is the earliest English being whom we of the nineteenth century can easily and perfectly understand. It is not so in the century before. The men and women of the Tudor times are different and distant from us. They are as little modern in their character as in their dress and houses. But with the opening of the seventeenth century, almost taking us by surprise, we come on men whom we can comprehend—whose whole look is familiar to us. Who does not feel the difference between Cardinal Wolsey and Cromwell in this regard? One is all medieval and the other is all modern. Eliot, Hampden, Pym, Laud, Falkland—all the men of the civil wars, whether they were Royalists or Puritans, have this new intelligibleness. We have evidently crossed the line and are in our own land. They are hardly farther from us—in some respects they are not so far from us of New England—as the men of the last century, the men of our own Revolution. If history were taught among us as it ought to be, I think you will agree with me that there is no period of all the history of the world that ought to be taught to our New England youth more fully than that which is most like our own, and most intelligible to us, and the richest in seeds of fruits which we behold to-day—the seventeenth century in England.

Now in the midst of this great century there stands forth in England one picturesque and typical man. The strongest ages do thus incorporate their life in some one strong representative, and hold him up before the world to tell their story. And the most typical man of English seventeenth century life was John Milton. I am drawn to him because of his connection with the history of education, which I shall speak of by and by. But before I can speak of that, I must remind you of how in general Milton embodied in his life all those characteristics which make the seventeenth century strong and positive in history as we look back upon it. Not even Cromwell so largely embodied all its qualities. "He was," as Professor Seeley strongly says, "the most cultivated man of his time, perhaps we might say the most



cultivated man that ever lived in England;" but his culture was all of that best sort which humanizes instead of unhumanizing its subject, and makes it more and not less a representative and specimen of the time in which he lives.

Milton was born in 1608, on the 9th of December, at a quarter past six in the morning, at the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, in London, where his father was a prosperous scrivener. That father had been disinherited by *his* father because he had become a Protestant and a Bible had been found in his chamber; already there was protest and reform in the blood. He entered at Christ College at Cambridge when he was fifteen years old, and left before his course was finished, in some sort of mysterious disgrace. One of the endless discussions of his biographers is whether he was flogged in college. Dr. Johnson, who does not like Milton, declares he was, but it seems doubtful; still he might have been, for flogging in the colleges was not yet obsolete, and there was that soul in the audacious school-boy which always brings the school-boy's body into peril. But he left college, and in a few years went abroad upon that European journey which is almost a prominent event in English literary history. Before he went he had already written "Comus" and "Lycidas," the "Allegro" and "Penseroso." Upon the continent he saw great men, and they made much of him. In Paris he saw Grotius; in Florence, the imprisoned Galileo; in Rome, the Cardinal Barberini. He made friendships that lasted all his life, and he filled his mind full of knowledge. But just as he was planning to go on to Sicily and Greece, the news of the civil war at home came to him, and, Englishman that he was, he hurried home.

Just with the same spirit with which so many of our young men who seemed lost in the fascination of foreign study turned at the earliest drum-beat of our war and hurried home that the war might not fight itself through without them, so Milton turned and left beloved Italy behind him and hurried home to give the Parliament and the Commonwealth the help of his pen and, if they needed that, of his sword, too. Here he became at once the champion of the popular cause. He laid poetry aside, and for the next twenty years the press teemed with his pamphlets. He wrote against the bishops, against royalty, against the Church. He pleaded for the freedom of printing, for the right of rebellion, and, having his own home reasons for turning his thoughts that way, for the liberty of divorce. After a while he was Cromwell's Latin secretary, and gave the great Protector his best praises and best help.

So things went on, with Milton's heart and pen always in the very thick of them, until Oliver died, and then the melancholy Restoration came. The great champion of liberty became silent, and escaped the penalties of all the past years—nobody has ever been able to make out just how. He was blind now, and getting old. But "Paradise Lost" was yet to be written before he could have liberty to die. It

was written in silence, and the world hardly took more note when it was published than it does when the sun rises. Then came the "Paradise Regained," and then the "Samson Agonistes," the last great outcry of his passionate heart; and then at last, on Sunday the 8th of November, 1674, he died in peace, and was buried in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where probably his bones are lying still.

He was the most typical Englishman of the most typical and strongest English time; and this might interest any one who had red English blood running in his veins. But he especially belongs to us—he has his place here among those who are interested in education, because this typical Englishman was a schoolmaster, and one of the most thoughtful and suggestive reasoners on education that the English race ever produced. He is near enough to us to let us understand him, but he is far enough away from us to let us look at him with something of romantic feeling, as we think of the greatest of Englishmen sitting with a dozen boys about him, not merely teaching them, but reasoning about their teaching, looking over their heads and seeing the distant visions of the perfect education of the future, as true a poet when he sat in the teacher's chair as when before his organ he chanted lofty hymns and told the story of eternities. It came about in this way. Milton, returning from Italy when the civil war broke out, found in his father's house two children of his widowed sister, Mrs. Philips—Edward and John—and he began to teach them. Soon other boys, sons of his friends, came in, and his last biographer, Mr. Masson, who has left little for any one coming after him to learn of Milton, has gathered up, in all, traces of twenty or thirty youths who at one time or other were the great master's pupils. The school was always in the teacher's house, first in Aldersgate Street, where it was what his pupil Philips describes as a "garden house at the end of an entry"—a quiet spot, no doubt, with a little plot of ground, up a sleepy court, in what is now the very heart of "streaming London's central roar"—and then afterward in a house in what was called Barbican, where, when he was once settled, his pupil writes, "the house looked like a house of the Muses, though the access of scholars was not great." It certainly seems not very inspiring. Philips tried hard to show that his uncle never was a common teacher. "Possibly his proceeding thus far in the education of youth," he says, "may have been the occasion of some of his adversaries calling him pedagogue and schoolmaster, when, as it is well known, he never set up for a public school to teach all the young fry of a parish, but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to relations and to sons of some gentlemen that were his intimate friends." And Dr. Johnson, churchman and Loyalist, who never liked the great Independent and rebel, says of his school that "from this wonder-working academy I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge." But still the fact remains that Milton had his school, and really taught it, that he wrote.



a Latin accident, that he planned from time to time a scheme of a great school, that the strong hand that wrote the "Samson" flogged his pupils till they roared, and the genius that conceived "Paradise Lost" knew nothing unworthy or incongruous in the school-room drudgery.

Just think of being Milton's scholar! Every art slips down into technicalities and loses its first inspiring principles. It cannot keep the grandeur of *ideas*. What technical skill the great teacher of Aldersgate Street may have had, what discipline he kept, how he managed his markings and rankings, we cannot know; but at least we are sure that in that dingy room, with the dingy London roses blooming outside the window, the *ideas* of teaching, the *ends* of scholarship, the *principles* of education, never were forgotten or lost out of sight. No doubt we should see and feel this for ourselves if it were possible for us to open the old school-room door and go in and sit down among the scholars, where the great master, waxing dimmer of sight and getting on toward stony blindness every day, should not discover us. But this we cannot do, and so we are glad we can turn away from the mere mention of Milton's actual school-teaching, which is so unsatisfying, and find that he has written down for us what he thought and believed about school-teaching in his famous tract on education.

There was in Milton's time in London a well-known gentleman by the name of Samuel Hartlib. He was the son of a Polish merchant who had married an English lady and settled himself in England. He seems to have had a fresh, bright, kindly mind. Everybody knew him; he interested himself in everything that was live and good; he talked with everybody who had anything to say. Every great city has just such men—we know such men in ours. This gentleman had often talked with the great schoolmaster about education, and was very much interested in what Milton said; and he had begged Milton often, as they sat together talking, to write down what he was saying, so that it might not be lost. The busy Milton at last complied, and the result is that we have a dozen pages of his stately prose, in which he pictures his ideal of school-teaching and gives us, it is safe to say, a prospectus of philosophic education within which almost all the progress of our modern schools has been included, and which it is very far yet from outgrowing. Surely it will be interesting to look at his ideas in the light of modern developments. I know how often practical teachers are impatient of new theories. They do not love to listen to a mere philosopher who sits in his study and tells them what a school ought to be. But remember, Milton's ideas were not wholly theories. He had seen some practice. And remember, too, that if the teacher's art be in any high sense an art at all, it must have a philosophy behind it. If we would not allow it to sink into a mere set of rules, and depend for its success on certain mere tricks or knacks, it must forever refresh itself out of the fountain of first principles and inspire itself with the contemplation of even unattainable ideals.



This leads us to a brief sketch of the main thoughts which this essay of the great Englishman contains. I am surprised, when I enumerate them, to see how thoroughly they are the thoughts which all our modern education has tried to realize. Here they are fully conceived in the rich mind of the representative man of two centuries ago. This is the value of his treatise in the history of education. Milton's ideas then, about education are really reducible to three great ideas, which may be thus named: *naturalness*, *practicalness*, *nobleness*. These are the three first necessities of education, which he is always trying to apply; and what has modern education done more than this?

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"There is not in literature," says Emerson in his essay on Milton, "a more noble outline of a wise external education than that which Milton drew up, at the age of thirty-six, in his letter to Samuel Hartlib." Emerson was himself a pioneer and prophet in educational reform,—President Eliot, in his address at the Emerson centennial, paid noteworthy tribute to him for his powerful grasp and statement of principles which had become cardinal in his own educational policies,—and all his utterances upon education enforce the three great ideas of naturalness, practicalness, and nobleness, to which, as Phillips Brooks rightly says in the passage above quoted, Milton's ideas about education are really reducible. Phillips Brooks's address upon "Milton as an Educator" may be found in the published volume of his "Essays and Addresses," and the student is urged to read the entire address. In Frederick Denison Maurice's volume, "The Friendship of Books," is an address of similar scope and character upon "Milton considered as a Schoolmaster." More analytical and more critical than either of these stimulating addresses, and written more strictly from the pedagogical point of view, is the address upon Milton by S. S. Laurie, in his "Addresses on Educational Subjects," devoted expressly to Milton's tractate on Education. The tractate is also discussed in the various histories of pedagogy, as in the various lives of Milton. See J. A. St. John's notes to Milton's treatise on Education, in his edition of Milton's Prose Works, in Bohn's Library.

In Masson's great work upon the Life and Times of Milton, a special section (vol. iii. p. 231) is devoted to the tractate and the circumstances of its production, with much fuller advices concerning Samuel Hartlib and his relations to Milton and to the educational movements of his day than those given in the passage from Phillips Brooks's address printed above. The student will find Masson's famous work the great storehouse of information upon every aspect of Milton's life and work. There are many excellent brief biographies,—by Mark Pattison, Garnett, Stopford Brooke, and others; and the essays and chapters upon Milton by English and American writers—Dr. Johnson, Addison, Macaulay, De Quincey, Coleridge, Lowell, Rossetti, Matthew Arnold, Bagehot, Bayne, Birrell, Dowden, Barrett Wendell, John Fiske, and others—constitute an imposing library. The valuable article in the Dictionary of National Biography is by Leslie Stephen. See the section on Milton in W. J. Courthorpe's "Life in Poetry." Lucia Ames Mead's "Milton's England" paints the background of his life; and Masterman's "The Age of Milton" renders in another way a similar service. Corson's little "Introduction to the Works of Milton," which is especially commended to those whose reading must be limited, brings together in an admirable way the many autobiographical passages from Milton's writings. The editions of Milton's poems are of course innumerable; and there are several editions of his prose works. Students of his work as an educator will be especially interested to refer to his brief Latin Grammar, written in English,—a bold innovation at the time. His famous pamphlet on "A Free Commonwealth" was reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 63.

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# Lincoln's First Message to Congress.



MESSAGE TO CONGRESS IN SPECIAL SESSION, JULY 4, 1861.

*Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, excepting only those of the Post-office Department.

Within these States all the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom-houses, and the like, including the movable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized, and were held in open hostility to this government, excepting only Forts Pickens, Taylor, and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized, and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose.

The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well-protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets

and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the government. Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them had been seized for the same object. The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers; and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the government. Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring the States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined government of these States had been promulgated; and this illegal organization, in the character of confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid, and intervention from foreign powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at government expense, to the very people who were resisting the government; and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was forborne without which it was believed possible to keep the government on foot.

On the 5th of March (the present incumbent's first full day in office), a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good and well



disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made inclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and the navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship *Brooklyn* into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was that the officer commanding the *Sabine*, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the *Brooklyn*, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late administration (and of the existence of which the present administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention), had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter was impossible—rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort. In precaution against such a conjecture, the government had, a few days before, commenced preparing an

expedition as well adapted as might be to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used, or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort; and that, if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given; whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall without even awaiting the arrival of the provision expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution—trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object the executive well understood; and having said to them in the inaugural address, “You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors,” he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue, “immediate dissolution or blood.”

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United

States. It represents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretenses made in this case, or on any other pretenses, or arbitrarily without any pretense, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: “Is there, in all republics, this inherent and fatal weakness?” “Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?”

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government; and so to resist force employed for its destruction, by force for its preservation.

The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise, and received into the government service. Of course the seceded States, so called (and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration), gave no troops to the cause of the Union. The border States, so called, were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost for the Union, while in others—as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable—perhaps the most important. A convention elected by the people of that State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Sumter, many members of that majority went over to the original disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or their great resentment at the government’s resistance to that assault, is not definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification



to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the convention and the legislature (which was also in session at the same time and place), with leading men of the State not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and the navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They received—perhaps invited—into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and co-operation with the so-called "Confederate States," and sent members to their congress at Montgomery. And, finally, they permitted the insurrectionary government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders; and this government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it. And it has the less regret as the loyal citizens have, in due form, claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this government is bound to recognize and protect, as being Virginia.

In the border States, so called,—in fact, the Middle States,—there are those who favor a policy which they call "armed neutrality"; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the disunion the other, over their soil. This would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation—and yet not quite an impassable one, for under the guise of neutrality it would tie the hands of Union men and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do to an open enemy. At a stroke it would take all the trouble off the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the disunionists that which, of all things, they most desire—feed them well, and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is, nevertheless, very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia; and, rapidly following this, a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insur-

rectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal. At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve for three years unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon, under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity; trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the commanding general in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or, in other words, to arrest and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who has sworn to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted and failing of execution in nearly one-third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that, practically, it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated? To state the question more directly, are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated? Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken if the government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is equivalent to a provi-

sion—is a provision—that such privilege may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together, the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion.

No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the attorney-general. Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this government had been so extraordinary and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this, on discovery, gave the executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers; and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and the Navy will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action; while the executive and all the departments will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one: that you place at the control of the government for the work at least four hundred thousand men and \$400,000,000. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where, apparently, all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of \$600,000,000 now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population.



Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them.

A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their government if the government itself will do its part only indifferently well.

It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called "secession" or "rebellion." The movers, however, well understand the difference. At the beginning they knew they could never raise their treason to an yrespectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents, to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may consistently with the National Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.

With rebellion thus sugar-coated they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretense of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency

from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence; and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas. And even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the “United Colonies” were declared to be “free and independent States”; but even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterward, abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States either in substance or in name outside of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of “State Rights,” asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the “sovereignty” of the States; but the word even is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is “sovereignty” in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it “a political community without a political superior”? Tested by this, no one of our States except Texas ever was a sovereignty. And even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union; by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union

threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course, it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union—nevertheless, dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union.

Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution; but among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but, at most, such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the government itself had never been known as a governmental, as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the National Constitution in defining boundaries between the two has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining, without question.

What is now combated is the position that secession is consistent with the Constitution—is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions) to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now be off without consent or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States in common with the rest. Is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid or the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself?

Again, if one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours



when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain.

The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national constitution of their own, in which of necessity they have either discarded or retained the right of secession as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it by their own construction of ours, they show that to be consistent they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure.

If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called "driving the one out," should be called "the seceding of the others from that one," it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution and speaks from the preamble calling itself "We, the People."

It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election, all that large class who are at once for the Union and against coercion would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed without extravagance that the free institu-

tions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it, but who has taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a cabinet, a congress, and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest; but if it is, so much better the reason why the government which has conferred such benefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Whoever in any section proposes to abandon such a government would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it—what better he is likely to get in its stead—whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people? There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence in which, unlike the good old one, penned by Jefferson, they omit the words “all men are created equal.” Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one, signed by Washington, they omit “We, the People,” and substitute, “We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States.” Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that while in this, the government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved

false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

Great honor is due to those officers who remained true, despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor, and most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands, but an hour before, they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of the plain people. They understand, without an argument, that the destroying of the government which was made by Washington means no good to them.

Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace: teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the government toward the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address.

He desires to preserve the government, that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms.



The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government. But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

It was with the deepest regret that the executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty or surrender the existence of the government. No compromise by public servants could, in this case, be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

As a private citizen the executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as the free people have confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws.

And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

JULY 4, 1861.

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The closing words of Lincoln's first inaugural address, March 4, 1861, are well remembered: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-

stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Both of Lincoln's inaugural addresses (1861 and 1865), together with the proclamation of emancipation and the speech at Gettysburg, are reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 11. Leaflet No. 85 is devoted to the first Lincoln and Douglas debate; and in Leaflet No. 107 is given Lincoln's famous address at the Cooper Institute, New York, in 1860. In these latter two leaflets we find clearly defined his attitude upon the anti-slavery issue as it affected the political situation with which as President he had to deal. He entered upon the Presidency when the work of the disruption of the Union was already far advanced; and in his inaugural he discussed with precision the question of the constitutional relation of the States to the Union. Fort Sumter was fired upon April 12, 1861. On April 15 President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 militia, and convening Congress in extra session on July 4. His message to Congress at that time, reprinted in the present leaflet, was devoted entirely to the problems of the Civil War, into which the country was already plunged, including a further discussion of the relation of the States to the Nation under the Constitution. It is of high significance as the clear and careful definition by President Lincoln of the issues and principles involved in the Civil War at its outbreak. The student is advised to read in connection, in Lincoln's Complete Works, edited by Nicolay and Hay, Lincoln's annual message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1861 (ii. 93), and other messages; also his last public address, April 11, 1865 (ii. 672), in which he touches upon certain principles involved in reconstruction. See Nicolay and Hay's Life of Lincoln, and the briefer biographies; also the histories of the Civil War, by Rhodes and others.

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# Gladstone's "Kin beyond Sea."

1878.

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"When Love unites, wide space divides in vain,  
And hands may clasp across the spreading main."

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1. It is now nearly half a century since the works of De Tocqueville and De Beaumont, founded upon personal observation, brought the institutions of the United States effectually within the circle of European thought and interest. They were co-operators, but not upon an equal scale. De Beaumont belongs to the class of ordinary, though able writers; De Tocqueville was the Burke of his age, and his treatise upon America may well be regarded as among the best books hitherto produced for the political student of all times and countries.

2. But higher and deeper than the concern of the old world at large in the thirteen colonies, now grown into thirty-eight States, besides eight Territories, is the special interest of England in their condition and prospects.

I do not speak of political controversies between them and us, which are happily, as I trust, at an end. I do not speak of the vast contribution which, from year to year, through the operations of a colossal trade, each makes to the wealth and comfort of the other; nor of the friendly controversy, which in its own place it might be well to raise, between the leanings of America to Protectionism, and the more daring reliance of the old country upon free and unrestricted intercourse with all the world; Nor of the menace which, in the prospective development of her resources, America offers to the commercial pre-



eminence of England.\* On this subject I will only say that it is she alone who, at a coming time, can, and probably will, wrest from us that commercial primacy. We have no title, I have no inclination, to murmur at the prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the acquisition by the right of the strongest; but, in this instance, the strongest means the best. She will probably become what we are now, the head servant in the great household of the World, the employer of all employed; because her service will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice or Genoa or Holland has had against us. One great duty is entailed upon us, which we, unfortunately, neglect,—the duty of preparing, by a resolute and sturdy effort, to reduce our public burdens, in preparation for a day when we shall probably have less capacity than we have now to bear them.

3. Passing by all these subjects, with their varied attractions, I come to another, which lies within the tranquil domain of political philosophy. The students of the future, in this department, will have much to say in the way of comparison between American and British institutions. The relationship between these two is unique in history. It is always interesting to trace and to compare Constitutions, as it is to compare languages; especially in such instances as those of the Greek States and the Italian Republics, or the diversified forms of the feudal system in the different countries of Europe. But there is no parallel in all the records of the world to the case of that prolific British mother, who has sent forth her innumerable children over all the earth to be the founders of half a dozen empires. She, with her progeny, may almost claim to constitute a kind of Universal Church in politics. But among these children there is one whose place in the world's eye and in history is superlative: it is the American Republic. She is the eldest born. She has, taking the capacity of her land into view as well as its mere measurement, a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man. And it may be well here to mention what has not always been sufficiently observed, that the distinction between continuous empire and empire severed and dispersed over sea is vital. The development which the Republic has

\* [This topic was much more largely handled by me in the Financial Statement which I delivered, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, on May 2, 1866. I recommend attention to the excellent article by Mr. Henderson, in the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1878; and I agree with the author in being disposed to think that the protective laws of America effectually bar the full development of her competing power.—W. E. G., Nov. 6, 1878.]

effected has been unexampled in its rapidity and force. While other countries have doubled, or at most trebled, their population, she has risen during one single century of freedom, in round numbers, from two millions to forty-five. As to riches, it is reasonable to establish, from the decennial stages of the progress thus far achieved, a series for the future; and, reckoning upon this basis, I suppose that the very next Census, in the year 1880, will exhibit her to the world as certainly the wealthiest of all the nations. The huge figure of a thousand millions sterling, which may be taken roundly as the annual income of the United Kingdom, has been reached at a surprising rate,—a rate which may perhaps be best expressed by saying that, if we could have started forty or fifty years ago from zero, at the rate of our recent annual increment, we should now have reached our present position. But, while we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity, America is passing us by as if in a canter. Yet even now the work of searching the soil and the bowels of the territory, and opening out her enterprise throughout its vast expanse, is in its infancy. The England and the America of the present are probably the two strongest nations of the world. But there can hardly be a doubt, as between the America and the England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.

“O matre forti filia fortior.”\*

4. But all this pompous detail of material triumphs, whether for the one or for the other, is worse than idle, unless the men of the two countries shall remain, or shall become, greater than the mere things that they produce, and shall know how to regard those things simply as tools and materials for the attainments of the highest purposes of their being. Ascending, then, from the ground floor of material industry towards the regions in which these purposes are to be wrought out, it is for each nation to consider how far its institutions have reached a state in which they can contribute their maximum to the store of human happiness and excellence. And for the political student all over the world it will be beyond anything curious as well as useful to examine, with what diversities, as well as what resemblances, of apparatus, the two greater branches of a race born to command have been

\* See Hor. Od. I. 16.

mind, or induced, or constrained to work out, in their sea-severed seats, their political destinies according to the respective laws appointed for them.

No higher ambition can find vent in a paper such as this than to suggest the position and claims of the subject, and slightly to indicate a few outlines, or at least fragments, of the working material.

5. In many and the most fundamental respects the two still carry in undiminished, perhaps in increasing, clearness, the notes of resemblance that besem a parent and a child.

Both wish for self-government; and, however grave the drawbacks under which in one or both it exists, the two have, among the great nations of the world, made the most effectual advances towards the true aim of rational politics.

They are similarly associated in their fixed idea that the force in which all government takes effect is to be constantly backed and, as it were, illuminated, by thought in speech and writing. The ruler of St. Paul's time "bare the sword" (Rom. xiii. 4). Bare it, as the Apostle says, with a mission to do right; but he says nothing of any duty, or any custom, to show by reason that he was doing right. Our two governments, whatsoever they do, have to give reasons for it,—not reasons which will convince the unreasonable, but reasons which on the whole will convince the average mind, and carry it unitedly forwards in a course of action, often, though not always wise, and carrying within itself provisions, where it is unwise, for the correction of its own unwisdom before it grow into an intolerable rankness. They are governments, not of force only, but of persuasion.

6. Many more are the concords, and not less vital than these, of the two nations, as expressed in their institutions. They alike prefer the practical to the abstract. They tolerate opinion, with only a reserve on behalf of decency; and they desire to confine coercion to the province of action, and to leave thought, as such, entirely free. They set a high value on liberty for its own sake. They desire to give full scope to the principles of self-reliance in the people, and they deem self-help to be immeasurably superior to help in any other form; to be the only help, in short, which ought not to be continually, or periodically, put upon its trial, and required to make good its title. They mistrust and dislike the centralization of power; and they cherish municipal, local, even parochial liberties, as nursery grounds, not only for the



production here and there of able men, but for the general training of public virtue and independent spirit. They regard publicity as the vital air of politics; through which alone, in its freest circulation, opinions can be thrown into common stock for the good of all, and the balance of relative rights and claims can be habitually and peaceably adjusted. It would be difficult, in the case of any other pair of nations, to present an assemblage of traits at once so common and so distinctive as has been given in this probably imperfect enumeration.

7. There were, however, the strongest reasons why America could not grow into a reflection or repetition of England. Passing from a narrow island to a continent almost without bounds, the colonists at once and vitally altered their conditions of thought, as well as of existence, in relation to the most important and most operative of all social facts, the possession of the soil. In England, inequality lies imbedded in the very base of the social structure; in America it is a late, incidental, unrecognized product, not of tradition, but of industry and wealth, as they advance with various and, of necessity, unequal steps. Heredity, seated as an idea in the heart's core of Englishmen, and sustaining far more than it is sustained by those of our institutions which express it, was as truly absent from the intellectual and moral store with which the colonists traversed the Atlantic as if it had been some forgotten article in the bills of lading that made up their cargoes. Equality combined with liberty, and renewable at each descent from one generation to another, like a lease with stipulated breaks, was the groundwork of their social creed. In vain was it sought, by arrangements such as those connected with the name of Baltimore or of Penn, to qualify the action of those overpowering forces which so determined the case. Slavery itself, strange as it now may seem, failed to impair the theory, however it may have imported into the practice a hideous solecism. No harder republicanism was generated in New England than in the Slave States of the South, which produced so many of the great statesmen of America.

8. It may be said that the North, and not the South, had the larger number of colonists, and was the centre of those commanding moral influences which gave to the country as a whole its political and moral atmosphere. The type and form of manhood for America was supplied neither by the Recusant in Maryland nor by the Cavalier in Virginia, but by the Puritan of New

England; and it would have been a form and type widely different, could the colonization have taken place a couple of centuries or a single century sooner. Neither the Tudor nor even the Plantagenet period could have supplied its special form. The Reformation was a cardinal factor in its production; and this in more ways than one.

9. Before that great epoch, the political forces of the country were represented on the whole by the Monarch, on one side, and the people, on the other. In the people, setting aside the latent vein of Lollardism, there was a general homogeneity with respect to all that concerned the relation of governors and governed. In the deposition of Sovereigns, the resistance to abuses, the establishment of institutions for the defence of liberty, there were no two parties to divide the land. But with the Reformation a new dualism was sensibly developed among us. Not a dualism so violent as to break up the national unity, but yet one so marked and substantial that thenceforward it was very difficult for any individual or body of men to represent the entire English character and the old balance of its forces. The wrench which severed the Church and the people from the Roman obedience left for domestic settlement thereafter a tremendous internal question, between the historical and the new, which in its milder form perplexes us to this day. Except during the short reign of Edward VI. the civil power, in various methods and degrees, took what may be termed the traditional side, and favored the development of the historical more than the individual aspect of the national religion. These elements confronted one another during the reigns of the earlier Stuarts, not only with obstinacy, but with fierceness. There had grown up with the Tudors, from a variety of causes, a great exaggeration of the idea of Royal power; and this arrived, under James I. and Charles I., at a rank maturity. Not less, but even more masculine and determined was the converse development. Mr. Hallam saw, and has said, that at the outbreak of the Great Rebellion the old British Constitution was in danger, not from one party, but from both. In that mixed fabric had once been harmonized the ideas, both of religious duty, and of allegiance as related to it, which were now held in severance. The hardest and dominating portion of the American colonists represented that severance in its extremest form, and had dropped out of the order of the ideas which they carried across the water all those elements of

political Anglicism which give to aristocracy in this country a position only second in strength to that of freedom. State and Church alike had frowned upon them; and their strong reaction was a reaction of their entire nature, alike of the spiritual and the secular man. All that was democratic in the policy of England and all that was Protestant in her religion they carried with them, in pronounced and exclusive forms, to a soil and a scene singularly suited for their growth.

10. It is to the honor of the British Monarchy that, upon the whole, it frankly recognized the facts, and did not pedantically endeavor to restrain by artificial and alien limitations the growth of the infant States. It is a thing to be remembered that the accusations of the colonies in 1776 were entirely levelled at the King actually on the throne, and that a general acquittal was thus given by them to every preceding reign. Their infancy had been upon the whole what their manhood was to be, self-governed and republican. Their revolution, as we call it, was like ours in the main,—a vindication of liberties inherited and possessed. It was a Conservative revolution; and the happy result was that, notwithstanding the sharpness of the collision with the mother-country and with domestic loyalism, the Thirteen Colonies made provision for their future in conformity, as to all that determined life and manners, with the recollections of their past. The two Constitutions of the two countries express indeed rather the differences than the resemblances of the nations. The one is a thing grown, the other a thing made; the one a *praxis*, the other a *poiesis*; the one the offspring of tendency and indeterminate time, the other of choice and of an epoch. But, as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and the long gestation of progressive history, so the American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man. It has had a century of trial, under the pressure of exigencies caused by an expansion unexampled in point of rapidity and range; and its exemption from formal change, though not entire, has certainly proved the sagacity of the constructors and the stubborn strength of the fabric.

11. One whose life has been greatly absorbed in working, with others, the institutions of his own country, has not had the opportunities necessary for the careful and searching scrutiny of institutions elsewhere. I should feel, in looking at those of



America, like one who attempts to scan the stars with the naked eye. My notices can only be few, faint, and superficial: they are but an introduction to what I have to say of the land of my birth. A few sentences will dispose of them.

12. America, whose attitude towards England has always been masculine and real, has no longer to anticipate at our hands the frivolous and offensive criticisms which were once in vogue among us. But neither nation prefers (and it would be an ill sign if either did prefer) the institutions of the other; and we certainly do not contemplate the great Republic in the spirit of mere optimism. We see that it has a marvellous and unexampld adaptation for its peculiar vocation; that it must be judged not in the abstract, but under the fore-ordered laws of its existence; that it has purged away the blot with which we brought it into the world; that it bravely and vigorously grapples with the problem of making a Continent into a State; and that it treasures with fondness the traditions of British antiquity, which are in truth unconditionally its own, as well and as much as they are ours. The thing that perhaps chiefly puzzles the inhabitants of the old country is why the American people should permit their entire existence to be continually disturbed by the business of the Presidential elections; and, still more, why they should raise to its maximum the intensity of this perturbation by providing, as we are told, for what is termed a clean sweep of the entire Civil Service, in all its ranks and departments, on each accession of a Chief Magistrate. We do not perceive why this arrangement is more rational than would be a corresponding usage in this country on each change of ministry. Our practice is as different as possible. We limit to a few scores of persons the removals and appointments on these occasions; although our Ministries seem to us, not infrequently, to be more sharply severed from one another in principle and tendency than are the successive Presidents of the great Union.

13. It would be out of place to discuss in this article occasional phenomena of local corruption in the United States, by which the nation at large can hardly be touched; or the mysterious manipulations of votes for the Presidency, which are now understood to be under examination; or the very curious influences which are shaping the politics of the negroes and of the South. These last are corollaries to the great slave-question; and it seems very possible that after a few years we may see most of the

laborers, both in the Southern States and in England, actively addicted to the political support of that section of their countrymen who to the last had resisted their emancipation.

14. But if there be those in this country who think that American democracy means public levity and intemperance, or a lack of skill and sagacity in politics, or the absence of self-command and self-denial, let them bear in mind a few of the most salient and recent facts of history which may profitably be recommended to their reflections. We emancipated a million of negroes by peaceful legislation: America liberated four or five millions by a bloody civil war; yet the industry and exports of the Southern States are maintained, while those of our negro Colonies have dwindled. The South enjoys all its franchises, but we have, *proh pudor!* found no better method of providing for peace and order in Jamaica, the chief of our islands, than by the hard and vulgar, even where needful, expedient of abolishing entirely its representative institutions.

15. The Civil War compelled the States, both North and South, to train and embody a million and a half of men, and to present to view the greatest, instead of the smallest, armed forces in the world. Here there was supposed to arise a double danger. First, that, on a sudden cessation of the war, military life and habits could not be shaken off, and, having become rudely and widely predominant, would bias the country towards an aggressive policy, or, still worse, would find vent in predatory or revolutionary operations. Secondly, that a military caste would grow up with its habits of exclusiveness and command, and would influence the tone of politics in a direction adverse to republican freedom. But both apprehensions proved to be wholly imaginary. The innumerable soldiery was at once dissolved. Cincinnati, no longer an unique example, became the commonplace of every day, the type and mould of a nation. The whole enormous mass quietly resumed the habits of social life. The generals of yesterday were the editors, the secretaries, and the solicitors of to-day. The just jealousy of the State gave life to the now forgotten maxim of Judge Blackstone, who denounced as perilous the erection of a separate profession of arms in a free country. The standing army, expanded by the heat of civil contest to gigantic dimensions, settled down again into the framework of a miniature with the returning temperature of civil life, and became a power well-nigh invisible, from its minuteness, amidst

the powers which sway the movements of a society exceeding forty millions.

16. More remarkable still was the financial sequel to the great conflict. The internal taxation for Federal purposes, which before its commencement had been unknown, was raised, in obedience to an exigency of life and death, so as to exceed every present and every past example. It pursued and worried all the transactions of life. The interest of the American debt grew to be the highest in the world, and the capital touched five hundred and sixty millions sterling. Here was provided for the faith and patience of the people a touchstone of extreme severity. In England, at the close of the great French war, the propertied classes, who were supreme in Parliament, at once rebelled against the Tory Government, and refused to prolong the Income Tax even for a single year. We talked big, both then and now, about the payment of our National Debt; but sixty-three years have since elapsed, all of them except two called years of peace, and we have reduced the huge total by about one-ninth,—that is to say, by little over one hundred millions, or scarcely more than one million and a half a year. This is the conduct of a State elaborately digested into orders and degrees, famed for wisdom and forethought, and consolidated by a long experience. But America continued long to bear, on her unaccustomed and still smarting shoulders, the burden of the war taxation. In twelve years she has reduced her debt by one hundred and fifty-eight millions sterling, or at the rate of thirteen millions for every year. In each twelve months she has done what we did in eight years: her self-command, self-denial, and wise forethought for the future have been, to say the least, eightfold ours. These are facts which redound greatly to her honor; and the historian will record with surprise that an enfranchised nation tolerated burdens which in this country a selected class, possessed of the representation, did not dare to face, and that the most unmitigated democracy known to the annals of the world resolutely reduced at its own cost prospective liabilities of the State, which the aristocratic and plutocratic and Monarchical Government of the United Kingdom has been contented ignobly to hand over to posterity. And such facts should be told out. It is our fashion so to tell them, against as well as for ourselves; and the record of them may some day be among the means of stirring us up to a policy more worthy of the name and fame of England.



17. It is true, indeed, that we lie under some heavy and, I fear, increasing disadvantages, which amount almost to disabilities. Not, however, any disadvantage respecting power, as power is commonly understood. But, while America has a nearly homogeneous country, and an admirable division of political labor between the States individually and the Federal Government, we are, in public affairs, an overcharged and overweighted people.\*

We have undertaken the cares of Empire upon a scale and with a diversity unexampled in history; and, as it has not yet pleased Providence to endow us with brain-force and animal strength in an equally abnormal proportion, the consequence is that we perform the work of government, as to many among its more important departments, in a very superficial and slovenly manner. The affairs of the three associated Kingdoms, with their great diversities of law, interest, and circumstance, make the government of them, even if they stood alone, a business more voluminous, so to speak, than that of any other thirty millions of civilized men. To lighten the cares of the central legislature by judicious devolution, it is probable that much might be done; but nothing is done, or even attempted to be done. The greater Colonies have happily attained to a virtual self-government; yet the aggregate mass of business connected with our colonial possessions continues to be very large. The Indian Empire is of itself a charge so vast, and demanding so much thought and care, that, if it were the sole transmarine appendage to the Crown, it would amply tax the best ordinary stock of human energies. Notoriously, it obtains from the Parliament only a small fraction of the attention it deserves. Questions affecting individuals, again, or small interests, or classes, excite here a greater interest, and occupy a larger share of time, than, perhaps, in any other community. In no country, I may add, are the interests of persons or classes so favored when they compete with those of the public; and in none are they more exacting, or more wakeful to turn this advantage to the best account. With the vast extension of our enterprise and our trade, comes a breadth of liability not less large, to consider everything that is critical in the affairs of foreign States; and the real responsibilities, thus existing for us, are unnaturally inflated by fast-

\* [This subject has been more fully developed by me in an article on "England's Mission," contributed to *The Nineteenth Century* for September of the present year.—W. E. G., December, 1878.]

growing tendencies towards exaggeration of our concern in these matters, and even towards setting up fictitious interests in cases where none can discern them except ourselves, and such Continental friends as practise upon our credulity and our fears for purposes of their own. Last of all, it is not to be denied that in what I have been saying I do not represent the public sentiment. The nation is not at all conscious of being overdone. The people see that their House of Commons is the hardest-working legislative assembly in the world; and, this being so, they assume it is all right. Nothing pays better, in point of popularity, than those gratuitous additions to obligations already beyond human strength, which look like accessions or assertion of power, such as the annexation of new territory, or the silly transaction known as the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal.

18. All my life long I have seen this excess of work as compared with the power to do it; but the evil has increased with the surfeit of wealth, and there is no sign that the increase is near its end. The people of this country are a very strong people; but there is no strength that can permanently endure, without provoking inconvenient consequences, this kind of political debauch. It may be hoped, but it cannot be predicted, that the mischief will be encountered and subdued at the point where it will have become sensibly troublesome, but will not have grown to be quite irremediable.

19. The main and central point of interest, however, in the institutions of a country is the manner in which it draws together and compounds the public forces in the balanced action of the State. It seems plain that the formal arrangements for this purpose in America are very different from ours. It may even be a question whether they are not, in certain respects, less popular; whether our institutions do not give more rapid effect than those of the Union to any formed opinion and resolved intention of the nation.

20. In the formation of the Federal Government we seem to perceive three stages of distinct advancement. First, the formation of the Confederation, under the pressure of the War of Independence. Secondly, the Constitution, which placed the Federal Government in defined and direct relation with the people inhabiting the several States. Thirdly, the struggle with the South, which for the first time, and definitely, decided that to the Union, through its Federal organization, and not to the State

governments, were reserved all the questions not decided and disposed of by the express provisions of the Constitution itself.\* The great *arcanum imperii*, which with us belongs to the three branches of the legislature, and which is expressed by the current phrase, "omnipotence of Parliament," thus became the acknowledged property of the three branches of the Federal legislature; and the old and respectable doctrine of State Independence is now no more than an archæological relic, a piece of historical antiquarianism. Yet the actual attributions of the State authorities cover by far the largest part of the province of Government; and by this division of labor and authority the problem of fixing for the nation a political centre of gravity is divested of a large part of its difficulty and danger, in some proportion to the limitations of the working precinct.

21. Within that precinct the initiation as well as the final sanction in the great business of finance is made over to the popular branch of the Legislature, and a most interesting question arises upon the comparative merits of this arrangement and of our own method, which theoretically throws upon the Crown the responsibility of initiating public charge, and under which until a recent period our practice was in actual and even close correspondence with this theory.

22. We next come to a difference still more marked. The Federal Executive is born anew of the nation at the end of each four years, and dies at the end. But, during the course of those years, it is independent, in the person both of the President and of his Ministers, alike of the people, of their representatives, and of that remarkable body, the most remarkable of all the inventions of modern politics, the Senate of the United States. In this important matter, whatever be the relative excellences and defects of the British and American systems, it is most certain that nothing would induce the people of this country, or even the Tory portion of them, to exchange our own for theirs. It may, indeed, not be obvious to the foreign eye what is the exact difference of the two. Both the representative chambers hold the power of the purse. But in America its conditions are such that

\* [This is a proposition of great importance in a disputed subject-matter; and consequently I have not announced it in a dogmatic manner, but as a portion of what we "seem to perceive" in the progress of the American Constitution. It expresses an opinion formed by me upon an examination of the original documents, and with some attention to the history, which I have always considered, and have often recommended to others, as one of the most fruitful studies of modern politics. This is not the proper occasion to develop its grounds; but I may say that I am not at all disposed to surrender it in deference to one or two rather contemptuous critics.—W. E. G., December, 1868.]



it does not operate in any way on behalf of the Chamber or of the nation, as against the Executive. In England, on the contrary, its efficiency has been such that it has worked out for itself channels of effective operation, such as to dispense with its direct use, and avoid the inconveniences which might be attendant upon that use. A vote of the House of Commons, declaring a withdrawal of its confidence, has always sufficed for the purpose of displacing a Ministry; nay, persistent obstruction of its measures, and even lighter causes, have conveyed the hint, which has been obediently taken. But the people, how is it with them? Do not the people in England part with their power, and make it over to the House of Commons, as completely as the American people part with it to the President? They give it over for four years, we for a period which on the average is somewhat more; they to resume it at a fixed time, we on an unfixed contingency, and at a time which will finally be determined, not according to the popular will, but according to the views which a Ministry may entertain of its duty or convenience.

23. All this is true; but it is not the whole truth. In the United Kingdom the people as such cannot commonly act upon the Ministry as such. But mediately, though not immediately, they gain the end; for they can work upon that which works upon the Ministry,—namely, on the House of Commons. Firstly, they have not renounced, like the American people, the exercise of their power for a given time; and they are at all times free by speech, petition, public meeting, to endeavor to get it back in full by bringing about a dissolution. Secondly, in a Parliament with nearly 660 members, vacancies occur with tolerable frequency, and, as they are commonly filled up forthwith, they continually modify the color of the Parliament, conformably not to the past, but to the present feeling of the nation; or, at least, of the constituency, which for practical purposes is different indeed, yet not very different. But, besides exercising a limited positive influence on the present, they supply a much less limited indication of the future. Of the members who at a given time sit in the House of Commons, the vast majority, probably more than nine-tenths, have the desire to sit there again, after a dissolution which may come at any moment. They therefore study political weather-wisdom, and in varying degrees adapt themselves to the indications of the sky. It will now be readily perceived how the popular sentiment in England, so far as it is

awake, is not meanly provided with the ways of making itself respected, whether for the purpose of displacing and replacing a Ministry or of constraining it (as sometimes happens) to alter or reverse its policy sufficiently, at least, to conjure down the gathering and muttering storm.

24. It is true, indeed, that every nation is of necessity, to a great extent, in the condition of the sluggard with regard to public policy,—hard to rouse, harder to keep aroused, sure after a little while to sink back into his slumber:—

“Pressitque jacentem,  
Dulcis et alta quies, placidæque simillima morti.”

*Æn.* vi. 522.

The people have a vast, but an encumbered power; and, in their struggles with overweening authority or with property, the excess of force, which they undoubtedly possess, is more than counterbalanced by the constant wakefulness of the adversary, by his knowledge of their weakness, and by his command of opportunity. But this is a fault lying rather in the conditions of human life than in political institutions. There is no known mode of making attention and inattention equal in their results. It is enough to say that in England, when the nation can attend, it can prevail. So we may say, then, that in the American Union the Federal Executive is independent for each four years both of the Congress and of the people. But the British Ministry is largely dependent on the people, whenever the people firmly will it; and is always dependent on the House of Commons, except of course when it can safely and effectually appeal to the people.

25. So far, so good. But, if we wish really to understand the manner in which the Queen's Government over the British Empire is carried on, we must now prepare to examine into some sharper contrasts than any which our path has yet brought into view. The power of the American Executive resides in the person of the actual President, and passes from him to his successor. His ministers, grouped around him, are the servants, not only of his office, but of his mind. The intelligence which carries on the Government has its main seat in him. The responsibility of failures is understood to fall on him; and it is round his head that success sheds its halo. The American Government is described truly as a Government composed of three members,

of three powers distinct from one another. The English Government is likewise so described, not truly, but conventionally. For in the English Government there has gradually formed itself a fourth power, entering into and sharing the vitality of each of the other three, and charged with the business of holding them in harmony as they march.

26. This Fourth Power is the Ministry, or more properly the Cabinet. For the rest of the Ministry is subordinate and ancillary; and, though it largely shares in many departments the labors of the Cabinet, yet it has only a secondary and derivative share in the higher responsibilities. No account of the present British Constitution is worth having which does not take this Fourth Power largely and carefully into view. And yet it is not a distinct power, made up of elements unknown to the other three; any more than a sphere contains elements other than those referable to the three co-ordinates which determine the position of every point in space. The Fourth Power is parasitical to the three others, and lives upon their life, without any separate existence. One portion of it forms a part, which may be termed an integral part, of the House of Lords, another of the House of Commons; and the two conjointly, nestling within the precinct of Royalty, form the inner Council of the Crown, assuming the whole of its responsibilities, and in consequence wielding, as a rule, its powers. The Cabinet is the threefold hinge that connects together for action the British Constitution of King or Queen, Lords, and Commons. Upon it is concentrated the whole strain of the Government, and it constitutes from day to day the true centre of gravity for the working system of the State, although the ultimate superiority of forces resides in the representative chamber.

27. There is no statute or legal usage of this country which requires that the Ministers of the Crown should hold seats in the one or the other House of Parliament. It is perhaps upon this account that, while most of my countrymen would, as I suppose, declare it to be a becoming and convenient custom, yet comparatively few are aware how near the seat of life the observance lies, how closely it is connected with the equipoise and unity of the social forces. It is rarely departed from, even in an individual case; never, as far as my knowledge goes, on a wider scale. From accidental circumstances it happened that I was a Secretary of State between December, 1845, and July, 1846, without



a seat in the House of Commons. This (which did not pass wholly without challenge) is, I believe, by much the most notable instance for the last fifty years; and it is only within the last fifty years that our Constitutional system has completely settled down. Before the reform of Parliament it was always easy to find a place for a Minister excluded from his seat; as Sir Robert Peel, for example, ejected from Oxford University, at once found refuge and repose at Tamworth. I desire to fix attention on the identification, in this country, of the Minister with the member of a House of Parliament.

28. It is, as to the House of Commons, especially, an inseparable and vital part of our system. The association of the Ministers with the Parliament, and through the House of Commons with the people, is the counterpart of their association as Ministers with the Crown and the prerogative. The decisions that they take are taken under the competing pressure of a bias this way and a bias that way, and strictly represent what is termed in mechanics the composition of forces. Upon them, thus placed, it devolves to provide that the Houses of Parliament shall loyally counsel and serve the Crown, and that the Crown shall act strictly in accordance with its obligations to the nation. I will not presume to say whether the adoption of the rule in America would or would not lay the foundation of a great change in the Federal Constitution; but I am quite sure that the abrogation of it in England would either alter the form of government or bring about a crisis.

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#### GLADSTONE AND THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS.

In 1870 the time arrived when Mr. Gladstone himself, no longer a minister third in standing in a Palmerston government, was called upon to deal with this great issue as a principal in his own administration. In 1868 the conservative government had agreed to a convention, by which a mixed commission, British and American, sitting in London, should decide upon the settlement of all claims by the subjects of either country upon the other; and in respect of what were known generically as the *Alabama* Claims, proposing to refer these to the arbitration of the head of some friendly state, in case the mixed commission should not agree. The idea of a composite court or tribunal, as distinguished from a single sovereign arbitrator, had not yet risen above the horizon. Before this project ripened, Mr. Disraeli was out of government, Lord Clarendon had taken Lord Stanley's place at the foreign office, and the convention, with some modifications, was signed by him (Jan. 14, 1869), and in due course despatched to Wash-

ington. There the Senate, not on the merits, but for party and personal reasons, refused to ratify. Though this attempt failed, neither of the two English political parties was in a position any longer to refuse arbitration in principle.

Agreement in principle is of little avail, without driving force enough for practice. The driving force was found mainly from a gradual change in English sentiment, though the difficulties with Russia also counted for something. Even so early as 1863 the tide of popular opinion in England had begun slowly to swell in favor of the Northern cause. In 1866 victory across the Atlantic was decided, the Union was saved, and slavery was gone. A desire to remove causes of differences between ourselves and the United States grew at a remarkable speed, for the spectacle of success is wont to have magical effects even in minds that would indignantly reject the standards of Machiavel. While benevolent feeling gained volume in this country, statesmen in America took ground that made the satisfaction of it harder. They began to base their claim for reparation on the original proclamation of British neutrality when the American conflict began. First made in 1866, this new pretension was repeated in despatches of 1867, and in 1869 the American secretary formally recorded the complaint that the Southern insurrection obtained its enduring vitality by resources drawn from England, and as a consequence of England's imperfect discharge of her duties as neutral. England became, they said, the arsenal, the navy-yard, and the treasury of the insurgent confederacy. . . .

All through 1870 a rather troublesome exchange of letters went on between Washington and the foreign office, and Mr. Gladstone took an active concern in it. . . .

The expediency of an accommodation with America strengthened in Mr. Gladstone's mind. One member of the cabinet pointed out to the foreign secretary that, if there was any chance of a war with Russia about the Black Sea, it would be as well to get causes of differences with America out of the way: otherwise, however unprepared the United States might be at the moment, we should undoubtedly have them on our hands sooner or later. With Mr. Gladstone the desire was not a consequence of the possible troubles with Russia. His view was wider and less specific. He was alive to the extent to which England's power in Europe was reduced by the smothered quarrel with America, but he took even higher ground than this in his sense of the blessing to the world of an absolute reconciliation in good faith between the old England and the new. . . .

On Feb. 1, 1871, Mr. Gladstone was able to report to the Queen the arrival of news that the government of the United States were willing to concur in a commission for the discussion of international questions at present depending, without a previous understanding that liability in respect of the *Alabama* was to be acknowledged by this country. . . .

After thirty-seven sittings, spread over a period of two months, the treaty [of Washington] was signed on May 8 [1872]. . . . The treaty began by the declaration that her Britannic Majesty authorized the commissioners to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by her Majesty's government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by these vessels. . . . Most important of all, whether we look at the immediate purpose or at its contribution to a great though slow-moving cause, the treaty of Washington secured a judgment, by the arbitration of a tribunal, of all claims growing out of acts committed by the cruisers, "and generically known as the *Alabama* Claims." The tribunal was to consist of five members named by Great Britain, the United States, Switzerland, Italy, and Brazil. . . .

What happened at Geneva was this. When the day came, the British agent did not lodge his summary, but asked for an adjournment for eight months, as the two governments did not agree upon the scope of the arbitration. This looked dark enough, and the treaty seemed doomed. It was saved by Mr. Adams, the American nominee on the tribunal. When he reached Geneva and learned how things stood, he decided that the knot which they could not untie must be cut. His golden idea was this: the arbitrators should make a spontaneous declaration that on the principles of international law the indirect claims ought to be excluded from their consideration. Adams saw his colleagues one by one, and brought them round to his view. The English chief justice had made up his mind that the whole thing was dead, as he had for many months been loudly telling all London that it ought to be. But, when asked by Mr. Adams whether the spontaneous extrajudicial declaration would remove all obstacles to progress, Cockburn answered that he thought it would. "I said," Mr. Adams continued, "that in that event I was prepared to make a proposition. I should be assuming a heavy responsibility; but I should do so, not as an arbitrator representing my country, but as representing all nations." So the indirect claims were summarily ruled out, and the arbitration proceeded. In some notes prepared for the cabinet on all these proceedings (Feb. 4, 1873), Lord Tenterden, the clever and experienced British agent at Geneva, writes, "I cannot conclude this part of the memorandum without saying that the dignity, tact, self-command, and moderation with which Mr. Adams discharged his functions as arbitrator did honor to his country."

In September (1872) the five arbitrators at Geneva gave their award. They were unanimous in finding Great Britain liable for the acts of the *Alabama*; all save the British representative found her liable for the *Florida*; the Italian, the Swiss, and the American against the Englishman and the Brazilian found her liable for the *Shenandoah* after



leaving Melbourne. They awarded in satisfaction and final settlement of all claims, including interest, a gross sum of about three and a quarter million pounds sterling. The award, though hardly a surprise, still inflicted a lively twinge of mortification on the masterful and confident people of this island. Opinion was divided, but the decision was not one of those that cut deep or raise the public temperature to fever. The prints of the opposition insisted that the result was profoundly vexatious, it was a bungled settlement, and the arguments used in favor of it were "wild sentimental rubbish." On the other hand, the *Times* regarded it with profound satisfaction, and ministerial writers with a lyric turn hailed it as a magnificent victory, though we had to pay a heavy bill. A little balm was extracted from the fact that the Americans had preferred before the tribunal a demand of nine millions and a half, and thus got little more than one-third of what they had asked. So ended what has been called the greatest of all arbitrations, extinguishing the embers that could not have been left to smoulder without constant peril of a vast and fratricidal conflagration. The treaty of Washington and the Geneva arbitration stand out as the most notable victory in the nineteenth century of the noble art of preventive diplomacy, and the most signal exhibition in their history of self-command in two of the three chief democratic powers of the western world. For the moment the result did something to impair the popularity of Mr. Gladstone's government, but his association with this high act of national policy is one of the things that give its brightest lustre to his fame.—*John Morley's Life of Gladstone.*

Gladstone's "Kin beyond Sea," containing his most important study of the political institutions of the United States, was first published in the *North American Review* for September, 1878. It was republished in his "Gleanings of Past Years." The present leaflet gives the first half of the paper, the portion relating to the United States: the latter portion is a discussion of the English political system, by way of comparison, and the political student should read the entire essay. The extract from Morley's *Life of Gladstone* relating to the "Alabama" claims is here given as illustrating Mr. Gladstone's attitude in his most important dealing with the United States as prime minister. The entire section in Morley should be read (vol. ii., chap. xi.). Said Gladstone in the House of Commons, June 15, 1880, "Although I may think the sentence was harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis, I regard the fine imposed on this country as dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when these two great nations of England and America—which are the most fiery and the most jealous in the world with regard to anything that touches national honor—went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword."

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# The Centennial of Independence.

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

FROM HIS FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, BOSTON, 1876.

Go with me to Philadelphia, as she was just a hundred years ago. Enter with me her noble Independence Hall, so happily restored and consecrated afresh as the Runnymede of our Nation; and, as we enter it, let us not forget to be grateful that no demands of public convenience or expediency have called for the demolition of that old State House of Pennsylvania. Observe and watch the movements, listen attentively to the words, look steadfastly at the countenances, of the men who compose the little Congress assembled there. Braver, wiser, nobler men have never been gathered and grouped under a single roof, before or since, in any age, on any soil beneath the sun. What are they doing? What are they daring? Who are they, thus to do, and thus to dare?

Single out with me, as you easily will at the first glance, by a presence and a stature not easily overlooked or mistaken, the young, ardent, accomplished Jefferson. He is only just thirty-three years of age. Charming in conversation, ready and full in counsel, he is "slow of tongue," like the great Lawgiver of the Israelites, for any public discussion or formal discourse. But he has brought with him the reputation of wielding what John Adams well called "a masterly pen." And grandly has he justified that reputation. Grandly has he employed that pen already, in drafting a Paper which is at this moment lying on the table, and awaiting its final signature and sanction.

Three weeks before, indeed,—on the previous 7th of June,—his own noble colleague, Richard Henry Lee, had moved the Resolution, whose adoption, on the 2d of July, had virtually settled the whole question. Nothing, certainly, more explicit or emphatic could have been wanted for that Congress itself than that Resolution, setting forth as it did, in language of striking simplicity and brevity and dignity, “That these United Colonies are, and, of right, ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.”

That Resolution was, indeed, not only comprehensive and conclusive enough for the Congress which adopted it, but, I need not say, it is comprehensive and conclusive enough for us; and I heartily wish, that, in the century to come, its reading might be substituted for that of the longer Declaration which has put the patience of our audiences to so severe a test for so many years past,—though, happily, not to-day.

But the form in which that Resolution was to be announced and proclaimed to the people of the Colonies, and the reasons by which it was to be justified before the world, were at that time of intense interest and of momentous importance. No graver responsibility was ever devolved upon a young man of thirty-three, if, indeed, upon any man of any age, than that of preparing such a Paper. As often as I have examined the original draft of that Paper, still extant in the Archives of the State Department at Washington, and have observed how very few changes were made, or even suggested, by the illustrious men associated with its author on the committee for its preparation, it has seemed to me to be as marvellous a composition, of its kind and for its purpose, as the annals of mankind can show. The earliest honors of this day, certainly, may well be paid, here and throughout the country, to the young Virginian of “the masterly pen.”

And here, by the favor of a highly valued friend and fellow-citizen, to whom it was given by Jefferson himself a few months only before his death, I am privileged to hold in my hands, and to lift up to the eager gaze of you all, a most compact and convenient little mahogany case, which bears this autograph inscription on its face, dated “Monticello, November 18, 1825:”—

“Thomas Jefferson gives this Writing Desk to Joseph Coolidge, Jun<sup>r</sup>. as a memorial of his affection. It was made from



a drawing of his own, by Ben Randall, Cabinet-maker of Philadelphia, with whom he first lodged on his arrival in that City in May, 1776, and is the identical one on which he wrote the Declaration of Independence."

"Politics, as well as Religion," the inscription proceeds to say, "has its superstitions. These, gaining strength with time, may, one day, give imaginary value to this relic, for its association with the birth of the Great Charter of our Independence."

Superstitions! Imaginary value! Not for an instant can we admit such ideas. The modesty of the writer has betrayed even "the masterly pen." There is no imaginary value to this relic, and no superstition is required to render it as precious and priceless a piece of wood, as the secular cabinets of the world have ever possessed, or ever claimed to possess. No cabinet-maker on earth will have a more enduring name than this inscription has secured to "Ben Randall, of Philadelphia." No pen will have a wider or more lasting fame than his who wrote the inscription. The very table at Runnymede, which some of us have seen, on which the Magna Charta of England is said to have been signed or sealed five centuries and a half before,—even were it authenticated by the genuine autographs of every one of those brave old Barons, with Stephen Langton at their head,—who extorted its grand pledges and promises from King John,—so soon to be violated,—could hardly exceed, could hardly equal, in interest and value, this little mahogany desk. What momentous issues for our country, and for mankind, were locked up in this narrow drawer, as night after night the rough notes of preparation for the Great Paper were laid aside for the revision of the morning! To what anxious thoughts, to what careful study of words and phrases, to what cautious weighing of statements and arguments, to what deep and almost overwhelming impressions of responsibility, it must have been a witness! Long may it find its appropriate and appreciating ownership in the successive generations of a family, in which the blood of Virginia and Massachusetts is so auspiciously commingled! Should it, in the lapse of years, ever pass from the hands of those to whom it will be so precious an heirloom, it could only have its fit and final place among the choicest and most cherished treasures of the Nation, with whose Title Deeds of Independence it is so proudly associated!

But the young Jefferson is not alone from Virginia, on the day we are celebrating, in the Hall which we have entered as imagin-

ary spectators of the scene. His venerated friend and old legal preceptor,—George Wythe,—is, indeed, temporarily absent from his side; and even Richard Henry Lee, the original mover of the measure, and upon whom it might have devolved to draw up the Declaration, has been called home by dangerous illness in his family, and is not there to help him. But “the gay, good-humored” Francis Lightfoot Lee, a younger brother, is there. Benjamin Harrison, the father of our late President Harrison, is there, and has just reported the Declaration from the Committee of the Whole, of which he was Chairman. The “mild and philanthropic” Carter Braxton is there, in the place of the lamented Peyton Randolph, the first President of the Continental Congress, who had died, to the sorrow of the whole country, six or seven months before. And the noble-hearted Thomas Nelson is there,—the largest subscriber to the generous relief sent from Virginia to Boston during the sore distress occasioned by the shutting up of our Port, and who was the mover of those Instructions in the Convention of Virginia, passed on the 15th of May, under which Richard Henry Lee offered the original Resolution of Independence, on the 7th of June.

I am particular, Fellow Citizens, in giving to the Old Dominion the foremost place in this rapid survey of the Fourth of July, 1776, and in naming every one of her delegates who participated in that day’s doings; for it is hardly too much to say, that the destinies of our country, at that period, hung and hinged upon her action, and upon the action of her great and glorious sons. Without Virginia, as we must all acknowledge,—without her Patrick Henry among the people, her Lees and Jefferson in the forum, and her Washington in the field,—I will not say, that the cause of American Liberty and American Independence must have been ultimately defeated,—no, no; there was no ultimate defeat for that cause in the decrees of the Most High!—but it must have been delayed, postponed, perplexed, and to many eyes and many hearts rendered seemingly hopeless. It was Union which assured our Independence, and there could have been no Union without the influence and co-operation of that great leading Southern Colony. To-day, then, as we look back over the wide gulf of a century, we are ready and glad to forget everything of alienation, everything of contention and estrangement which has intervened, and to hail her once more, as our Fathers in Faneuil Hall hailed her, in 1775, as “our noble, patriotic sister Colony, Virginia.”

I may not attempt, on this occasion, to speak with equal particularity of all the other delegates whom we see assembled in that immortal Congress. Their names are all inscribed where they can never be obliterated, never be forgotten. Yet some others of them so challenge our attention and rivet our gaze, as we look in upon that old time-honored Hall, that I cannot pass to other topics without a brief allusion to them.

Who can overlook or mistake the sturdy front of Roger Sherman, whom we are proud to recall as a native of Massachusetts, though now a delegate from Connecticut,—that “Old Puritan,” as John Adams well said, “as honest as an angel, and as firm in the cause of American Independence as Mount Atlas,”—represented most worthily to-day by the distinguished Orator of the Centennial at Philadelphia, as well as by more than one distinguished grandson in our own State?

Who can overlook or mistake the stalwart figure of Samuel Chase, of Maryland, “of ardent passions, of strong mind, of domineering temper, of a turbulent and boisterous life,” who had helped to burn in effigy the Maryland Stamp Distributor eleven years before, and who, we are told by one who knew what he was saying, “must ever be conspicuous in the catalogue of that Congress”?

His milder and more amiable colleague, Charles Carroll, was engaged at that moment in pressing the cause of Independence on the hesitating Convention of Maryland, at Annapolis; and though, as we shall see, he signed the Declaration on the 2d of August, and outlived all his compeers on that roll of glory, he is missing from the illustrious band as we look in upon them this morning. I cannot but remember that it was my privilege to see and know that venerable person in my early manhood. Entering his drawing-room, nearly five-and-forty years ago, I found him reposing on a sofa and covered with a shawl, and was not even aware of his presence, so shrunk and shrivelled by the lapse of years was his originally feeble frame. *Quot libras induce summo!* But the little heap on the sofa was soon seen stirring, and, rousing himself from his midday nap, he rose and greeted me with a courtesy and a grace which I can never forget. In the ninety-fifth year of his age, as he was, and within a few months of his death, it is not surprising that there should be little for me to recall of that interview, save his eager inquiries about James Madison, whom I had just visited at Montpelier, and his affectionate allusions to John Adams, who had gone



before him; and save, too, the exceeding satisfaction for myself of having seen and pressed the hand of the last surviving signer of the Declaration.

But Cæsar Rodney, who had gone home on the same patriotic errand which had called Carroll to Maryland, had happily returned in season, and had come in, two days before, "in his boots and spurs," to give the casting vote for Delaware in favor of Independence.

And there is Arthur Middleton, of South Carolina, the bosom friend of our own Hancock, and who is associated with him under the same roof in those elegant hospitalities which helped to make men know and understand and trust each other. And with him you may see and almost hear the eloquent Edward Rutledge, who not long before had united with John Adams and Richard Henry Lee in urging on the several Colonies the great measure of establishing permanent governments at once for themselves,—a decisive step which we may not forget that South Carolina was among the very earliest in taking. She took it, however, with a reservation, and her delegates were not quite ready to vote for Independence, when it first was proposed.

But Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, must not be unmarked or unmentioned in our rapid survey, more especially as it is matter of record that his original doubts about the measure, which he is now bravely supporting, had been dissipated and dispelled "by the irresistible and conclusive arguments of John Adams."

And who requires to be reminded that our "Great Bostonian," Benjamin Franklin, is at his post to-day, representing his adopted Colony with less support than he could wish,—for Pennsylvania, as well as New York, was sadly divided, and at times almost paralyzed by her divisions,—but with patriotism and firmness and prudence and sagacity and philosophy and wit and common-sense and courage enough to constitute a whole delegation, and to represent a whole Colony, by himself! He is the last man of that whole glorious group of Fifty,—or it may have been one or two more, or one or two less, than fifty,—who requires to be pointed out, in order to be the observed of all observers.

But I must not stop here. It is fit, above all other things, that, while we do justice to the great actors in this scene from other Colonies, we should not overlook the delegates from our own Colony. It is fit, above all things, that we should recall something more than the names of the men who represented

Massachusetts in that great Assembly, and who boldly affixed their signatures, in her behalf, to that immortal Instrument.

Was there ever a more signal distinction vouchsafed to mortal man, than that which was won and worn by John Hancock a hundred years ago to-day? Not altogether a great man; not without some grave defects of character;—we remember nothing at this hour save his Presidency of the Congress of the Declaration, and his bold and noble signature to our Magna Charta. Behold him in the chair which is still standing in its old place,—the very same chair in which Washington was to sit, eleven years later, as President of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States; the very same chair, emblazoned on the back of which Franklin was to descry “a rising, and not a setting sun,” when that Constitution had been finally adopted,—behold him, the young Boston merchant, not yet quite forty years of age, not only with a princely fortune at stake, but with a price at that moment on his own head, sitting there to-day in all the calm composure and dignity which so peculiarly characterized him, and which nothing seemed able to relax or ruffle. He had chanced to come on to the Congress during the previous year, just as Peyton Randolph had been compelled to relinquish his seat and go home,—returning only to die; and, having been unexpectedly elected as his successor, he hesitated about taking the seat. But grand old Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, we are told, was standing beside him, and with the ready good humor that loved a joke even in the Senate House, he seized the modest candidate in his athletic arms, and placed him in the presidential chair; then, turning to some of the members around, he exclaimed: “We will show Mother Britain how little we care for her, by making a Massachusetts man our President, whom she has excluded from pardon by a public proclamation.”

Behold him! He has risen for a moment. He has put the question. The Declaration is adopted. It is already late in the evening, and all formal promulgation of the day's doings must be postponed. After a grace of three days, the air will be vibrating with the joyous tones of the Old Bell in the cupola over his head, proclaiming Liberty to all mankind, and with the responding acclamations of assembled multitudes. Meantime, for him, however, a simple but solemn duty remains to be discharged. The Paper is before him. You may see the very table on which it was laid, and the very inkstand which awaits his use. No hesitation now. He dips his pen, and with an untrembling

hand proceeds to execute a signature, which would seem to have been studied in the schools, and practised in the counting-room, and shaped and modelled day by day in the correspondence of mercantile and political manhood, until it should be meet for the authentication of some immortal act; and which, as Webster grandly said, has made his name as imperishable, "as if it were written between Orion and the Pleiades."

Under that signature, with only the attestation of a secretary, the Declaration goes forth to the American people, to be printed in their journals, to be proclaimed in their streets, to be published from their pulpits, to be read at the head of their armies, to be incorporated forever into their history. The British forces, driven away from Boston, are now landing on Staten Island, and the reverses of Long Island are just awaiting us. They were met by the promulgation of this act of offence and defiance to all royal authority. But there was no individual responsibility for that act, save in the signature of John Hancock, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. Not until the 2d of August was our young Boston merchant relieved from the perilous, the appalling grandeur of standing sole sponsor for the revolt of Thirteen Colonies and Three Millions of people. Sixteen or seventeen years before, as a very young man, he had made a visit to London, and was present at the burial of George II., and at the coronation of George III. He is now not only the witness but the instrument, and in some sort the impersonation, of a far more substantial change of dynasty on his own soil, the burial of royalty under any and every title, and the coronation of a Sovereign, whose sceptre has already endured for a century, and whose sway has already embraced three times thirteen States, and more than thirteen times three millions of people.

Ah, if this quaint, picturesque, charming old mansion-house, so long the gem of Beacon Street, could have stood till this day, our Centennial decorations and illuminations might haply have so marked, and sanctified, and glorified it, that the rage of reconstruction would have passed over it still longer, and spared it for the reverent gaze of other generations. But his own name and fame are secure; and, whatever may have been the foibles or faults of his later years, to-day we will remember that momentous and matchless signature, and him who made it, with nothing but respect, admiration, and gratitude.

But Hancock, as I need not remind you, was not the only



proscribed patriot who represented Massachusetts at Philadelphia on the day we are commemorating. His associate in General Gage's memorable exception from pardon is close at his side. He who, as a Harvard College student, in 1743, had maintained the affirmative of the Thesis, "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved," and who during those whole three-and-thirty years since had been training up himself and training up his fellow countrymen in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and of Liberty;—he who had replied to Gage's recommendation to him to make his peace with the King, "I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of kings, and no personal considerations shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country;"—he who had drawn up the Boston Instructions to her Representatives in the General Court, adopted at Faneuil Hall, on the 24th of May, 1764,—the earliest protest against the Stamp Act, and one of the grandest papers of our whole Revolutionary period;—he who had instituted and organized those Committees of Correspondence, without which we could have had no united counsels, no concerted action, no union, no success;—he who, after the massacre of March 5, 1770, had demanded so heroically the removal from Boston of the British regiments, ever afterwards known as "Sam. Adams's regiments,"—telling the Governor to his face, with an emphasis and an eloquence which were hardly ever exceeded since Demosthenes stood on the Bema, or Paul on Mars Hill, "If the Lieutenant-governor, or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two; and nothing short of the total evacuation of the Town, by all the regular troops, will satisfy the public mind or preserve the peace of the Province;"—he, "the Palinurus of the American Revolution," as Jefferson once called him, but—thank Heaven!—a Palinurus who was never put to sleep at the helm, never thrown into the sea, but who is still watching the compass and the stars, and steering the ship as she enters at last the haven he has so long yearned for:—the veteran Samuel Adams,—the disinterested, inflexible, incorruptible statesman,—is second to no one in that whole Congress, hardly second to any one in the whole thirteen Colonies, in his claim to the honors and grateful acknowledgments of this hour. We have just gladly hailed his statue on its way to the capitol.

Nor must the name of Robert Treat Paine be forgotten among

the five delegates of Massachusetts in that Hall of Independence, a hundred years ago to-day;—an able lawyer, a learned judge, a just man; connected by marriage, if I mistake not, Mr. Mayor, with your own gallant grandfather, General Cobb, and who himself inherited the blood and illustrated the virtues of the hero and statesman whose name he bore,—Robert Treat, a most distinguished officer in King Philip's War, and afterwards a worthy Governor of Connecticut.

And with him, too, is Elbridge Gerry, the very youngest member of the whole Continental Congress, just thirty-two years of age,—who had been one of the chosen friends of our proto-martyr, General Joseph Warren; who was with Warren, at Watertown, the very last night before he fell at Bunker Hill, and into whose ear that heroic volunteer had whispered those memorable words of presentiment, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patriā mori*;" who lived himself to serve his Commonwealth and the Nation, ardently and efficiently, at home and abroad, ever in accordance with his own patriotic injunction,—"*It is the duty of every citizen, though he may have but one day to live, to devote that day to the service of his country*,"—and died on his way to his post as Vice-president of the United States.

One more name is still to be pronounced. One more star of that little Massachusetts cluster is still to be observed and noted. And it is one, which, on the precise occasion we commemorate,—one, which during those great days of June and July, 1776, on which the question of Independence was immediately discussed and decided,—had hardly "*a fellow in the firmament*," and which was certainly "*the bright, particular star*" of our own constellation. You will all have anticipated me in naming John Adams. Beyond all doubt, his is the Massachusetts name most prominently associated with the immediate Day we celebrate.

Others may have been earlier or more active than he in preparing the way. Others may have labored longer and more zealously to instruct the popular mind and inflame the popular heart for the great step which was now to be taken. Others may have been more ardent, as they unquestionably were more prominent, in the various stages of the struggle against Writs of Assistance, and Stamp Acts, and Tea Taxes. But from the date of that marvellous letter of his to Nathan Webb, in 1755, when he was less than twenty years old, he seems to have forecast the destinies of this continent as few other men of any

age, at that day, had done; while from the moment at which the Continental Congress took the question of Independence fairly in hand, as a question to be decided and acted on, until they had brought it to its final issue in the Declaration, his was the voice, above and before all other voices, which commanded the ears, convinced the minds, and inspired the hearts of his colleagues, and triumphantly secured the result.

I need not speak of him in other relations or in after years. His long life of varied and noble service to his country, in almost every sphere of public duty, domestic and foreign, belongs to history; and history has long ago taken it in charge. But the testimony which was borne to his grand efforts and utterances, by the author of the Declaration himself, can never be gainsaid, never be weakened, never be forgotten. That testimony, old as it is, familiar as it is, belongs to this day. John Adams will be remembered and honored forever, in every true American heart, as the acknowledged Champion of Independence in the Continental Congress,—“coming out with a power which moved us from our seats,”—“our Colossus on the floor.”

And when we recall the circumstances of his death,—the year, the day, the hour,—and the last words upon his dying lips, “Independence for ever,”—who can help feeling that there was some mysterious tie holding back his heroic spirit from the skies, until it should be set free amid the exulting shouts of his country’s first National Jubilee!

But not his heroic spirit alone!

In this rapid survey of the men assembled at Philadelphia a hundred years ago to-day, I began with Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and I end with John Adams, of Massachusetts; and no one can hesitate to admit that, under God, they were the very alpha and omega of that day’s doings,—the pen and the tongue,—the masterly author, and the no less masterly advocate, of the Declaration.

And now, my friends, what legend of ancient Rome or Greece or Egypt, what myth of prehistoric mythology, what story of Herodotus, or fable of Æsop, or metamorphosis of Ovid, would have seemed more fabulous and mythical,—did it rest on any remote or doubtful tradition, and had not so many of us lived to be startled and thrilled and awed by it,—than the fact, that these two men, under so many different circumstances and surroundings, of age and constitution and climate, widely distant from each other, living alike in quiet neighborhoods, remote



from the smoke and stir of cities, and long before railroads or telegraphs had made any advances towards the annihilation or abridgment of space, should have been released to their rest and summoned to the skies, not only on the same day, but that day the Fourth of July, and that Fourth of July the Fiftieth Anniversary of that great Declaration which they had contended for and carried through so triumphantly side by side!

What an added emphasis Jefferson would have given to his inscription on this little desk,—“Politics, as well as Religion, has its superstitions,”—could he have foreseen the close even of his own life, much more the simultaneous close of these two lives, on that day of days! Oh, let me not admit the idea of superstition! Let me rather reverently say, as Webster said at the time, in that magnificent Eulogy which left so little for any one else to say as to the lives or deaths of Adams and Jefferson: “As their lives themselves were the gifts of Providence, who is not willing to recognize in their happy termination, as well as in their long continuance, proofs that our country and its benefactors are objects of His care?”

And now another Fifty Years have passed away, and we are holding our high Centennial Festival; and still that most striking, most impressive, most memorable coincidence in all American history, or even in the authentic records of mankind, is without a visible monument anywhere!

In the interesting little city of Weimar, renowned as the resort and residence of more than one of the greatest philosophers and poets of Germany, many a traveller must have seen and admired the charming statues of Goethe and Schiller, standing side by side and hand in hand, on the single pedestal, and offering as it were, the laurel wreath of literary priority or pre-eminence to each other. Few nobler works of art, in conception or execution, can be found on the Continent of Europe. And what could be a worthier or juster commemoration of the marvellous coincidence of which I have just spoken, and of the men who were the subjects of it, and of the Declaration with which, alike in their lives and in their deaths, they are so peculiarly and so signally associated, than just such a Monument, with the statues of Adams and Jefferson, side by side and hand in hand, upon the same base, pressing upon each other, in mutual acknowledgment and deference, the victor palm of a triumph for which they must ever be held in common and equal honor! It would be a new tie between Massachusetts and Virginia. It would be a

new bond of that Union which is the safety and the glory of both. It would be a new pledge of that restored good will between the North and South, which is the herald and harbinger of a Second Century of National Independence. It would be a fit recognition of the great Hand of God in our history!

At all events, it is one of the crying omissions and neglects which reproach us all this day, that "glorious old John Adams" is without any proportionate public monument in the State of which he was one of the very grandest citizens and sons, and in whose behalf he rendered such inestimable services to his country. It is almost ludicrous to look around and see who has been commemorated, and he neglected! He might be seen standing alone, as he knew so well how to stand alone in life. He might be seen grouped with his illustrious son, only second to himself in his claims on the omitted posthumous honors of his native State. Or, if the claim of noble women to such commemorations were ever to be recognized on our soil, he might be lovingly grouped with that incomparable wife, from whom he was so often separated by public duties and personal dangers, and whose familiar correspondence with him, and his with her, furnishes a picture of fidelity and affection, and of patriotic zeal and courage and self-sacrifice, almost without a parallel in our Revolutionary Annals.

But before all other statues, let us have those of Adams and Jefferson on a single block, as they stood together just a hundred years ago to-day,—as they were translated together just fifty years ago to-day:—foremost for Independence in their lives, and in their deaths not divided! Next, certainly, to the completion of the National Monument to Washington, at the Capital, this double statue of this "double star" of the Declaration calls for the contributions of a patriotic people. It would have something of special appropriateness as the first gift to that Boston Park, which is to date from this Centennial Period.

I have felt, Mr. Mayor and Fellow Citizens, as I am sure you all must feel, that the men who were gathered at Philadelphia a hundred years ago to-day, familiar as their names and their story may be, to ourselves and to all the world, had an imperative claim to the first and highest honors of this Centennial Anniversary. But, having paid these passing tributes to their memory, I hasten to turn to considerations less purely personal.

The Declaration has been adopted, and has been sent forth

in a hundred journals, and on a thousand broadsides, to every camp and council chamber, to every town and village and hamlet and fireside, throughout the Colonies. What was it? What did it declare? What was its rightful interpretation and intention? Under what circumstances was it adopted? What did it accomplish for ourselves and for mankind?

A recent and powerful writer on "The Growth of the English Constitution," whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the Commencement of Old Cambridge University two years ago, says most strikingly and most justly: "There are certain great political documents, each of which forms a landmark in our political history. There is the Great Charter, the Petition of Rights, the Bill of Rights." "But not one of them," he adds, "gave itself out as the enactment of anything new. All claimed to set forth, with new strength, it might be, and with new clearness, those rights of Englishmen, which were already old." The same remark has more recently been incorporated into "A Short History of the English People." "In itself," says the writer of that admirable little volume, "the Charter was no novelty, nor did it claim to establish any new Constitutional principles. The Charter of Henry I. formed the basis of the whole; and the additions to it are, for the most part, formal recognitions of the judicial and administrative changes introduced by Henry II."

So substantially,—so, almost precisely,—it may be said of the Great American Charter, which was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson on the precious little desk which lies before me. It made no pretensions to novelty. The men of 1776 were not in any sense, certainly not in any seditious sense, greedy of novelties,—"*avidî novarum rerum.*" They had claimed nothing new. They desired nothing new. Their old original rights as Englishmen were all that they sought to enjoy, and those they resolved to vindicate. It was the invasion and denial of those old rights of Englishmen, which they resisted and revolted from.

As our excellent fellow-citizen, Mr. Dana, so well said publicly at Lexington, last year,—and as we should all have been glad to have him in the way of repeating quietly in London, this year,—"We were not the Revolutionists. The King and Parliament were the Revolutionists. They were the radical innovators. We were the conservators of existing institutions."

No one has forgotten, or can ever forget, how early and how emphatically all this was admitted by some of the grandest statesmen and orators of England herself. It was the attempt to



subvert our rights as Englishmen, which roused Chatham to some of his most majestic efforts. It was the attempt to subvert our rights as Englishmen, which kindled Burke to not a few of his most brilliant utterances. It was the attempt to subvert our rights as Englishmen, which inspired Barré and Conway and Camden with appeals and arguments and phrases which will keep their memories fresh when all else associated with them is forgotten. The names of all three of them, as you well know, have long been the cherished designations of American towns.

They all perceived and understood that we were contending for English rights, and against the violation of the great principles of English liberty. Nay, not a few of them perceived and understood that we were fighting their battles as well as our own, and that the liberties of Englishmen upon their own soil were virtually involved in our cause and in our contest.

There is a most notable letter of Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s, written from London at the end of 1774,—a few months only before that young patriot returned to die so sadly within sight of his native shores,—in which he tells his wife, to whom he was not likely to write for any mere sensational effect, that “some of the first characters for understanding, integrity, and spirit,” whom he had met in London, had used language of this sort: “This Nation is lost. Corruption and the influence of the Crown have led us into bondage, and a Standing Army has riveted our chains. To America only can we look for salvation. ’Tis America only can save England. Unite and persevere. You must prevail—you must triumph.” Quincy was careful not to betray names, in a letter which might be intercepted before it reached its destination. But we know the men with whom he had been brought into association by Franklin and other friends,—men like Shelburne and Hartley and Pownall and Priestley and Brand Hollis and Sir George Saville, to say nothing of Burke and Chatham. The language was not lost upon us. We did unite and persevere. We did prevail and triumph. And it is hardly too much to say that we did “save England.” We saved her from herself;—saved her from being the successful instrument of overthrowing the rights of Englishmen;—saved her “from the poisoned chalice which would have been commended to her own lips;”—saved her from “the bloody instructions which would have returned to plague the inventor.” Not only was it true, as Lord Macaulay said in one of his brilliant Essays, that “England was never so rich, so great, so formidable to foreign princes,

so absolutely mistress of the seas, as since the alienation of her American Colonies," but it is not less true that England came out of that contest with new and larger views of Liberty; with a broader and deeper sense of what was due to human rights; and with an experience of incalculable value to her in the management of the vast Colonial System which remained, or was in store, for her.

A vast and gigantic Colonial System, beyond doubt, it has proved to be! She was just entering, a hundred years ago, on that wonderful career of conquest in the East, which was to compensate her,—if it were a compensation,—for her impending losses in the West. Her gallant Cornwallis was soon to receive the jewelled sword of Tippoo Saib at Bangalore, in exchange for that which he was now destined to surrender to Washington at Yorktown. It is certainly not among the least striking coincidences of our Centennial Year, that at the very moment when we are celebrating the event which stripped Great Britain of thirteen Colonies and three millions of subjects,—now grown into thirty-eight States and more than forty millions of people,—she is welcoming the return of her amiable and genial Prince from a royal progress through the wide-spread regions of "Ormus and of Ind," bringing back, to lay at the foot of the British throne, the homage of nine principal Provinces and a hundred and forty-eight feudatory States, and of not less than two hundred and forty millions of people, from Ceylon to the Himalayas, and affording ample justification for the Queen's new title of Empress of India. Among all the parallelisms of modern history, there are few more striking and impressive than this.

The American Colonies never quarrelled or cavilled about the titles of their Sovereign. If, as has been said, "they went to war about a preamble," it was not about the preamble of the royal name. It was the Imperial power, the more than Imperial pretensions and usurpations, which drove them to rebellion. The Declaration was, in its own terms, a personal and most stringent arraignment of the King. It could have been nothing else. George III. was to us the sole responsible instrument of oppression. Parliament had, indeed, sustained him; but the Colonies had never admitted the authority of a Parliament in which they had no representation. There is no passage in Mr. Jefferson's paper more carefully or more felicitously worded, than that in which he says of the Sovereign, that "he has combined *with others* to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our

constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws,—giving his assent to *their acts of pretended legislation.*” A slip of “the masterly pen” on this point might have cost us our consistency; but that pen was on its guard, and this is the only allusion to Lords or Commons. We could recognize no one but the Monarch. We could contend with nothing less than Royalty. We could separate ourselves only from the Crown. English precedents had abundantly taught us that kings were not beyond the reach of arraignment and indictment; and arraignment and indictment were then our only means of justifying our cause to ourselves and to the world. Yes; harsh, severe, stinging, scolding,—I had almost said,—as that long series of allegations and accusations may sound, and certainly does sound, as we read it or listen to it, in cold blood, a century after the issues are all happily settled, it was a temperate and a dignified utterance under the circumstances of the case, and breathed quite enough of moderation to be relished or accepted by those who were bearing the brunt of so terrible a struggle for life and liberty and all that was dear to them, as that which those issues involved. Nor in all that bitter indictment is there a single count which does not refer to, and rest upon, some violation of the rights of Englishmen, or some violation of the rights of humanity. We stand by the Declaration to-day, and always, and disavow nothing of its reasoning or its rhetoric.

And, after all, Jefferson was not a whit more severe on the King than Chatham had been on the King’s Ministers six months before, when he told them to their faces: “The whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption.” Nor was William Pitt, the younger, much more measured in his language, at a later period of our struggle, when he declared: “These Ministers will destroy the empire they were called upon to save, before the indignation of a great and suffering people can fall upon their heads in the punishment which they deserve. I affirm the war to have been a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war.”

I need not say, Fellow Citizens, that we are here to indulge in no reproaches upon Old England to-day, as we look back from the lofty height of a Century of Independence on the course of events which severed us from her dominions. We are by no



means in the mood to re-open the adjudications of Ghent or of Geneva; nor can we allow the ties of old traditions to be seriously jarred, on such an occasion as this, by any recent failures of *extraditions*, however vexatious or provoking. But, certainly, resentments on either side, for anything said or done during our Revolutionary period,—after such a lapse of time,—would dishonor the hearts which cherished them, and the tongues which uttered them. Who wonders that George the Third would not let such Colonies as ours go without a struggle? They were the brightest jewels of his crown. Who wonders that he shrunk from the responsibility of such a dismemberment of his empire, and that his brain reeled at the very thought of it? It would have been a poor compliment to us, had he not considered us worth holding at any and every cost. We should hardly have forgiven him, had he not desired to retain us. Nor can we altogether wonder, that with the views of kingly prerogative which belonged to that period, and in which he was educated, he should have preferred the policy of coercion to that of conciliation, and should have insisted on sending over troops to subdue us.

Our old Mother Country has had, indeed, a peculiar destiny, and in many respects a glorious one. Not alone with her drum-beat, as Webster so grandly said, has she encircled the earth. Not alone with her martial airs has she kept company with the hours. She has carried civilization and Christianity wherever she has carried her flag. She has carried her noble tongue, with all its incomparable treasures of literature and science and religion, around the globe; and, with our aid,—for she will confess that we are doing our full part in this line of extension,—it is fast becoming the most pervading speech of civilized man. We thank God at this hour, and at every hour, that “*Chatham’s language is our mother tongue,*” and that we have an inherited and an indisputable share in the glory of so many of the great names by which that language has been illustrated and adorned.

But she has done more than all this. She has planted the great institutions and principles of civil freedom in every latitude where she could find a foot-hold. From her, our Revolutionary Fathers learned to understand and value them, and from her they inherited the spirit to defend them. Not in vain had her brave barons extorted *Magna Charta* from King John. Not in vain had her Simon de Montfort summoned the knights and

burgesses, and laid the foundations of a Parliament and a House of Commons. Not in vain had her noble Sir John Eliot died, as the martyr of free speech, in the Tower. Not in vain had her heroic Hampden resisted ship-money, and died on the battlefield. Not in vain for us, certainly, the great examples and the great warnings of Cromwell and the Commonwealth, or those sadder ones of Sidney and Russell, or that later and more glorious one still of William of Orange.

The grand lessons of her own history, forgotten, overlooked, or resolutely disregarded, it may be, on her own side of the Atlantic, in the days we are commemorating, were the very inspiration of her Colonies on this side; and under that inspiration they contended and conquered. And though she may sometimes be almost tempted to take sadly upon her lips the words of the old prophet,—“I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me,”—she has long ago learned that such a rebellion as ours was really in her own interest, and for her own ultimate welfare; begun, continued, and ended, as it was, in vindication of the liberties of Englishmen.

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Robert C. Winthrop, a direct descendant of the great Massachusetts governor, was born in Boston in 1809, and died in Boston in 1894. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1828, and studied law in the office of Daniel Webster, whose influence upon him throughout his political life was profound. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1834 until 1840, for a portion of the time serving as Speaker. From 1840 until 1850 he was almost continuously in Congress, in 1847-49 serving as Speaker of the House. He was appointed to the seat in the Senate left vacant by Webster's resignation in 1850, but was defeated in the regular election the next year by Charles Sumner. “His legislative career was marked by strong conservatism throughout. He was an opponent of slavery, of the Mexican War, and of the Fugitive Slave Law, but followed Webster in his desire for compromise and in his support of the Fillmore administration. On the break-up of the Whig party, he refused to ally himself with the Republican party, and supported Fillmore in 1856, Bell in 1860, and McClellan in 1864.” From 1867 until the end of his life he was at the head of the great work of the Peabody Trust for Southern Education, George Peabody having been his personal friend. Many of the addresses in his published volumes relate to this important interest. For thirty years, from 1855 to 1885, he was president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and for sixteen years before 1855 he had been a member of the Society. His reply to the tributes upon his withdrawal from the presidency may be found in vol. iv. of his *Addresses*, p. 560. His

volumes are rich in his contributions to the interests of the Society. It is undoubtedly by his orations on great historical anniversaries that he will be chiefly remembered. Many of these, like those on the laying of the corner-stone of the Washington monument in 1848 and the completion of the monument in 1885, on the dedication of the Franklin statue in Boston and the Prescott statue at Bunker Hill, the Plymouth oration of 1870, the Yorktown oration, and the Centennial oration from which the present leaflet is drawn, are of high and permanent value. Few men had a larger acquaintance with the leading public men of his time in America and England, and his tributes to many of these are of great interest. The four volumes of his Addresses and Speeches form a veritable commentary upon the history of his time, especially in Boston. His "Life and Letters of John Winthrop" is a work of great historical importance. There is a valuable memoir of Winthrop by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. See also his "Reminiscences of Foreign Travel: A Chapter of Autobiography" (1894) and the Tributes to his Memory by the Massachusetts Historical Society (1894).

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# The Inevitable Trial.

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OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

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FROM DR. HOLMES'S FOURTH OF JULY ORATION BEFORE THE CITY  
AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, 1863.

As we look at the condition in which we find ourselves on this fourth day of July, 1863, at the beginning of the Eighty-eighth Year of American Independence, we may well ask ourselves what right we have to indulge in public rejoicings. If the war in which we are engaged is an accidental one, which might have been avoided but for our fault; if it is for any ambitious or unworthy purpose on our part; if it is hopeless, and we are madly persisting in it; if it is our duty and in our power to make a safe and honorable peace, and we refuse to do it; if our free institutions are in danger of becoming subverted, and giving place to an irresponsible tyranny; if we are moving in the narrow circles which are to engulf us in national ruin,—then we had better sing a dirge, and leave this idle assemblage, and hush the noisy cannon which are reverberating through the air, and tear down the scaffolds which are soon to blaze with fiery symbols; for it is mourning and not joy that should cover the land; there should be silence, and not the echo of noisy gladness, in our streets; and the emblems with which we tell our nation's story and prefigure its future should be traced, not in fire, but in ashes.

If, on the other hand, this war is no accident, but an inevitable result of long-incubating causes; inevitable as the cataclysms that swept away the monstrous births of primeval nature; if it is for no mean, unworthy end, but for national life, for liberty everywhere, for humanity, for the kingdom of God on earth; if

it is not hopeless, but only growing to such dimensions that the world shall remember the final triumph of right throughout all time; if there is no safe and honorable peace for us but a peace proclaimed from the capital of every revolted province in the name of the sacred, inviolable Union; if the fear of tyranny is a phantasm, conjured up by the imagination of the weak, acted on by the craft of the cunning; if so far from circling inward to the gulf of our perdition, the movement of past years is reversed, and every revolution carries us farther and farther from the centre of the vortex, until, by God's blessing, we shall soon find ourselves freed from the outermost coil of the accursed spiral; if all these things are true; if we may hope to make them seem true, or even probable, to the doubting soul, in an hour's discourse,—then we may join without madness in the day's exultant festivities; the bells may ring, the cannon may roar, the incense of our harmless saltpetre fill the air, and the children who are to inherit the fruit of these toiling, agonizing years go about unblamed, making day and night vocal with their jubilant patriotism.

The struggle in which we are engaged was inevitable; it might have come a little sooner, or a little later, but it must have come. The disease of the nation was organic, and not functional, and the rough chirurgery of war was its only remedy.

In opposition to this view, there are many languid thinkers who lapse into a forlorn belief that if this or that man had never lived, or if this or that other man had not ceased to live, the country might have gone on in peace and prosperity, until its felicity merged in the glories of the millennium. If Mr. Calhoun had never proclaimed his heresies; if Mr. Garrison had never published his paper; if Mr. Phillips, the Cassandra in masculine shape of our long prosperous Ilium, had never uttered his melodious prophecies; if the silver tones of Mr. Clay had still sounded in the senate-chamber to smoothe the billows of contention; if the Olympian brow of Daniel Webster had been lifted from the dust to fix its awful frown on the darkening scowl of rebellion,—we might have been spared this dread season of convulsion. All this is but simple Martha's faith, without the reason she could have given: "If thou hadst been here, my brother had not died."

They little know the tidal movements of national thought and feeling, who believe that they depend for existence on a few swimmers who ride their waves. It is not Leviathan that leads the ocean from continent to continent, but the ocean which bears

his mighty bulk as it wafts its own bubbles. If this is true of all the narrower manifestations of human progress, how much more must it be true of those broad movements in the intellectual and spiritual domain which interest all mankind! But in the more limited ranges referred to, no fact is more familiar than that there is a simultaneous impulse acting on many individual minds at once, so that genius comes in clusters, and shines rarely as a single star. You may trace a common motive and force in the pyramid-builders of the earliest recorded antiquity, in the evolution of Greek architecture, and in the sudden springing up of those wondrous cathedrals of the twelfth and following centuries, growing out of the soil with stem and bud and blossom, like flowers of stone whose seeds might well have been the flaming aerolites cast over the battlements of heaven. You may see the same law showing itself in the brief periods of glory which make the names of Pericles and Augustus illustrious with reflected splendors; in the painters, the sculptors, the scholars of "Leo's golden days"; in the authors of the Elizabethan time; in the poets of the first part of this century following that dreary period, suffering alike from the silence of Cowper and the song of Hayley. You may accept the fact as natural, that Zwingli and Luther, without knowing each other, preached the same reformed gospel; that Newton, and Hooke, and Halley, and Wren arrived independently of each other at the great law of the diminution of gravity with the square of the distance; that Leverrier and Adams felt their hands meeting, as it were, as they stretched them into the outer darkness beyond the orbit of Uranus, in search of the dim, unseen planet; that Fulton and Bell, that Wheatstone and Morse, that Daguerre and Niepce, were moving almost simultaneously in parallel paths to the same end. You see why Patrick Henry, in Richmond, and Samuel Adams, in Boston, were startling the crown officials with the same accents of liberty, and why the Mecklenburg Resolutions had the very ring of the Protest of the Province of Massachusetts. This law of simultaneous intellectual movement, recognized by all thinkers, expatiated upon by Lord Macaulay and by Mr. Herbert Spencer among recent writers, is eminently applicable to that change of thought and feeling which necessarily led to the present conflict.

The antagonism of the two sections of the Union was not the work of this or that enthusiast or fanatic. It was the consequence of a movement in mass of two different forms of civilization in different directions, and the men to whom it was attributed



were only those who represented it most completely or who talked longest and loudest about it. Long before the accents of those famous statesmen referred to ever resounded in the halls of the Capitol, long before the "Liberator" opened its batteries, the controversy now working itself out by trial of battle was foreseen and predicted. Washington warned his countrymen of the danger of sectional divisions, well knowing the line of cleavage that ran through the seemingly solid fabric. Jefferson foreshadowed the judgment to fall upon the land for its sins against a just God. Andrew Jackson announced a quarter of a century beforehand that the next pretext of revolution would be slavery. De Tocqueville recognized, with that penetrating insight which analyzed our institutions and conditions so keenly, that the Union was to be endangered by slavery, not through its interests, but through the change of character it was bringing about in the people of the two sections,—the same fatal change which George Mason, more than half a century before, had declared to be the most pernicious effect of the system, adding the solemn warning, now fearfully justifying itself in the sight of his descendants, that "by an inevitable chain of causes and effects Providence punishes national sins by national calamities." The Virginian romancer pictured the far-off scenes of the conflict which he saw approaching, as the prophets of Israel painted the coming woes of Jerusalem, and the strong iconoclast of Boston announced the very year when the curtain should rise on the yet unopened drama.

The wise men of the past, and the shrewd men of our own time who warned us of the calamities in store for our nation, never doubted what was the cause which was to produce first alienation and finally rupture. The descendants of the men "daily exercised in tyranny," the "petty tyrants," as their own leading statesmen called them long ago, came at length to love the institution which their fathers had condemned while they tolerated. It is the fearful realization of that vision of the poet where the lost angels snuff up with eager nostrils the sulphurous emanations of the bottomless abyss,—so have their natures become changed by long breathing the atmosphere of the realm of darkness.

At last, in the fulness of time, the fruits of sin ripened in a sudden harvest of crime. Violence stalked into the senate-chamber, theft and perjury wound their way into the cabinet, and, finally, openly organized conspiracy, with force and arms, made burglarious entrance into a chief stronghold of the Union. That

the principle which underlay these acts of fraud and violence should be irrevocably recorded with every needed sanction, it pleased God to select a chief ruler of the false government to be its Messiah to the listening world. As with Pharaoh, the Lord hardened his heart, while he opened his mouth, as of old he opened that of the unwise animal ridden by cursing Balaam. Then spake Mr. "Vice-President" Stephens those memorable words which fixed forever the theory of the new social order. He first lifted a degraded barbarism to the dignity of a philosophic system. He first proclaimed the gospel of eternal tyranny as the new revelation which Providence had reserved for the western Palestine. Hear, O heavens! and give ear, O earth! The corner-stone of the new-born dispensation is the recognized inequality of races; not that the strong may protect the weak, as men protect women and children, but that the strong may claim the authority of Nature and of God to buy, to sell, to scourge, to hunt, to cheat out of the reward of his labor, to keep in perpetual ignorance, to blast with hereditary curses throughout all time, the bronzed foundling of the New World, upon whose darkness has dawned the star of the occidental Bethlehem!

After two years of war have consolidated the opinion of the Slave States, we read in the "Richmond Examiner": "The establishment of the Confederacy is verily a distinct reaction against the whole course of the mistaken civilization of the age. For 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' we have deliberately substituted Slavery, Subordination, and Government."

A simple diagram, within the reach of all, shows how idle it is to look for any other cause than slavery as having any material agency in dividing the country. Match the two broken pieces of the Union, and you will find the fissure that separates them zigzagging itself half across the continent like an isothermal line, shooting its splintery projections, and opening its re-entering angles, not merely according to the limitations of particular States, but as a county or other limited section of ground belongs to freedom or to slavery. Add to this the official statement made in 1862, that "there is not one regiment or battalion, or even company of men, which was organized in or derived from the Free States or Territories, anywhere, against the Union"; throw in gratuitously Mr. Stephens's explicit declaration in the speech referred to, and we will consider the evidence closed for the present on this count of the indictment.

In the face of these predictions, these declarations. this line

of fracture, this precise statement, testimony from so many sources, extending through several generations, as to the necessary effect of slavery, *a priori*, and its actual influence as shown by the facts, few will suppose that anything *we* could have done would have stayed its course or prevented it from working out its legitimate effects on the white subjects of its corrupting dominion. Northern acquiescence or even sympathy may have sometimes helped to make it sit more easily on the consciences of its supporters. Many profess to think that Northern fanaticism, as they call it, acted like a mordant in fixing the black dye of slavery in regions which would but for that have washed themselves free of its stain in tears of penitence. It is a delusion and a snare to trust in any such false and flimsy reasons where there is enough and more than enough in the institution itself to account for its growth. Slavery gratifies at once the love of power, the love of money and the love of ease; it finds a victim for anger who cannot smite back his oppressor; and it offers to all, without measure, the seductive privileges which the Mormon gospel reserves for the true believers on earth, and the Bible of Mahomet only dares promise to the saints in heaven.

Still it is common, common even to vulgarity, to hear the remark that the same gallows-tree ought to bear as its fruit the arch-traitor and the leading champion of aggressive liberty. The mob of Jerusalem was not satisfied with its two crucified thieves: it must have a cross also for the reforming Galilean, who interfered so rudely with its conservative traditions! It is asserted that the fault was quite as much on our side as on the other; that our agitators and abolishers kindled the flame for which the combustibles were all ready on the other side of the border. If these men could have been silenced, our brothers had not died.

Who are the persons that use this argument? They are the very ones who are at the present moment most zealous in maintaining the right of free discussion. At a time when every power the nation can summon is needed to ward off the blows aimed at its life, and turn their force upon its foes, when a false traitor at home may lose us a battle by a word, and a lying newspaper may demoralize an army by its daily or weekly *stillicidium* of poison, they insist with loud acclaim upon the liberty of speech and of the press; liberty, nay, license, to deal with government, with leaders, with every measure, however urgent, in any terms they choose, to traduce the officer before his own soldiers, and



assail the only men who have any claim at all to rule over the country, as the very ones who are least worthy to be obeyed. If these opposition members of society are to have their way now, they cannot find fault with those persons who spoke their minds freely in the past on that great question which, as we have agreed, underlies all our present dissensions.

It is easy to understand the bitterness which is often shown towards reformers. They are never general favorites. They are apt to interfere with vested rights and time-hallowed interests. They often wear an unlovely, forbidding aspect. Their office corresponds to that of Nature's sanitary commission for the removal of material nuisances. It is not the butterfly, but the beetle, which she employs for this duty. It is not the bird of paradise and the nightingale, but the fowl of dark plumage and unmelodious voice, to which is intrusted the sacred duty of eliminating the substances that infect the air. And the force of obvious analogy teaches us not to expect all the qualities which please the general taste in those whose instincts lead them to attack the moral nuisances which poison the atmosphere of society. But whether they please us in all their aspects or not, is not the question. Like them or not, they must and will perform their office, and we cannot stop them. They may be unwise, violent, abusive, extravagant, impracticable, but they are alive, at any rate, and it is their business to remove abuses as soon as they are dead, and often to help them to die. To quarrel with them because they are beetles, and not butterflies, is natural, but far from profitable. They grow none the less vigorously for being trodden upon, like those tough weeds that love to nestle between the stones of court-yard pavements. If you strike at one of their heads with the bludgeon of the law, or of violence, it flies open like the seed-capsule of a snap-weed, and fills the whole region with seminal thoughts which will spring up in a crop just like the original martyr. They chased one of these enthusiasts, who attacked slavery, from St. Louis, and shot him at Alton in 1837; and on the 23d of June just passed, the Governor of Missouri, chairman of the Committee on Emancipation, introduced to the Convention an Ordinance for the final extinction of slavery! They hunted another through the streets of a great Northern city in 1835; and within a few weeks a regiment of colored soldiers, many of them bearing the marks of the slave-driver's whip on their backs, marched out before a vast multitude tremulous with newly stirred sympathies, through the streets

of the same city, to fight our battles in the name of God and Liberty!

The same persons who abuse the reformers, and lay all our troubles at their door, are apt to be severe also on what they contemptuously emphasize as "sentiments" considered as motives of action. It is charitable to believe that they do not seriously contemplate or truly understand the meaning of the words they use, but rather play with them, as certain so-called "learned" quadrupeds play with the printed characters set before them. In all questions involving duty, we act from sentiments. Religion springs from them, the family order rests upon them, and in every community each act involving a relation between any two of its members implies the recognition or the denial of a sentiment. It is true that men often forget them or act against their bidding in the keen competition of business and politics. But God has not left the hard intellect of man to work out its devices without the constant presence of beings with gentler and purer instincts. The breast of woman is the ever-rocking cradle of the pure and holy sentiments which will sooner or later steal their way into the mind of her sterner companion, which will by and by emerge in the thoughts of the world's teachers, and at last thunder forth in the edicts of its law-givers and masters. Woman herself borrows half her tenderness from the sweet influences of maternity; and childhood that weeps at the story of suffering, that shudders at the picture of wrong, brings down its inspiration "from God, who is our home." To quarrel, then, with the class of minds that instinctively attack abuses is not only profitless, but senseless; to sneer at the sentiments which are the springs of all just and virtuous actions is merely a display of unthinking levity or of want of the natural sensibilities.

With the hereditary character of the Southern people moving in one direction, and the awakened conscience of the North stirring in the other, the open conflict of opinion was inevitable, and equally inevitable its appearance in the field of national politics. For what is meant by self-government is that a man shall make his convictions of what is right and expedient regulate the community so far as his fractional share of the government extends. If one has come to the conclusion, be it right or wrong, that any particular institution or statute is a violation of the sovereign law of God, it is to be expected that he will choose to be represented by those who share his belief, and who will in their wider sphere do all they legitimately can to get rid of the



wrong in which they find themselves and their constituents involved. To prevent opinion from organizing itself under political forms may be very desirable, but it is not according to the theory or practice of self-government. And if at last organized opinions become arrayed in hostile shape against each other, we shall find that a just war is only the last inevitable link in a chain of closely connected impulses of which the original source is in Him who gave to tender and humble and uncorrupted souls the sense of right and wrong, which, after passing through various forms, has found its final expression in the use of material force. Behind the bayonet is the law-giver's statute, behind the statute the thinker's argument, behind the argument is the tender conscientiousness of woman,—woman, the wife, the mother,—who looks upon the face of God himself reflected in the unsullied soul of infancy. "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies."

The simplest course for the malecontent is to find fault with the order of Nature and the Being who established it. Unless the law of moral progress were changed, or the Governor of the Universe were dethroned, it would be impossible to prevent a great uprising of the human conscience against a system the legislation relating to which, in the words of so calm an observer as De Tocqueville, the Montesquieu of our laws, presents "such unparalleled atrocities as to show that the laws of humanity have been totally perverted." Until the infinite selfishness of the powers that hate and fear the principles of free government swallowed up their convenient virtues, that system was hissed at by all the old-world civilization. While in one section of our land the attempt has been going on to lift it out of the category of tolerated wrongs into the sphere of the world's beneficent agencies, it was to be expected that the protest of Northern manhood and womanhood would grow louder and stronger until the conflict of principles led to the conflict of forces. The moral uprising of the North came with the logical precision of destiny; the rage of the "petty tyrants" was inevitable; the plot to erect a slave empire followed with fated certainty; and the only question left for us of the North was whether we should suffer the cause of the Nation to go by default, or maintain its existence by the argument of cannon and musket, of bayonet and sabre.

The war in which we are engaged is for no meanly ambitious or unworthy purpose. It was primarily, and is to this moment,



for the preservation of our national existence. The first direct movement towards it was a civil request on the part of certain Southern persons that the Nation would commit suicide without making any unnecessary trouble about it. It was answered, with sentiments of the highest consideration, that there were constitutional and other objections to the Nation's laying violent hands upon itself. It was then requested, in a somewhat peremptory tone, that the Nation would be so obliging as to abstain from food until the natural consequences of that proceeding should manifest themselves. All this was done as between a single State and an isolated fortress; but it was not South Carolina and Fort Sumter that were talking: it was a vast conspiracy uttering its menace to a mighty nation; the whole menagerie of treason was pacing its cages, ready to spring as soon as the doors were opened; and all that the tigers of rebellion wanted to kindle their wild natures to frenzy was the sight of flowing blood. . . .

Let us pause for a moment to consider what might have been the course of events if under the influence of fear, or of what some would name humanity, or of conscientious scruples to enter upon what a few please themselves and their rebel friends by calling a "wicked war"; if under any or all these influences we had taken the insult and the violence of South Carolina without accepting it as the first blow of a mortal combat, in which we must either die or give the last and finishing stroke.

By the same title which South Carolina asserted to Fort Sumter, Florida would have challenged as her own the Gibraltar of the Gulf, and Virginia the Ehrenbreitstein of the Chesapeake. Half our navy would have anchored under the guns of these suddenly alienated fortresses, with the flag of the rebellion flying at their peaks. "Old Ironsides" herself would have perhaps sailed out of Annapolis harbor to have a wooden Jefferson Davis shaped for her figure-head at Norfolk,—for Andrew Jackson was a hater of secession, and his was no fitting effigy for the battleship of the red-handed conspiracy. With all the great fortresses, with half the ships and warlike material, in addition to all that was already stolen, in the traitors' hands, what chance would the loyal men in the Border States have stood against the rush of the desperate fanatics of the now triumphant faction? Where would Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee,—saved, or looking to be saved, even as it is, as by fire,—have been in the day of trial? Into whose hands would the Capital, the archives, the glory, the name, the very life of the nation as a nation, have fallen,

endangered as all of them were, in spite of the volcanic outburst of the startled North which answered the roar of the first gun at Sumter? Worse than all, are we permitted to doubt that in the very bosom of the North itself there was a serpent, coiled but not sleeping, which only listened for the first word that made it safe to strike, to bury its fangs in the heart of Freedom, and blend its golden scales in close embrace with the deadly reptile of the cotton-fields. Who would not wish that he were wrong in such a suspicion? yet who can forget the mysterious warnings that the allies of the rebels were to be found far north of the fatal boundary line; and that it was in their own streets, against their own brothers, that the champions of liberty were to defend her sacred heritage?

Not to have fought, then, after the supreme indignity and outrage we had suffered, would have been to provoke every further wrong, and to furnish the means for its commission. It would have been to placard ourselves on the walls of the shattered fort, as the spiritless race the proud labor-thieves called us. It would have been to die as a nation of freemen, and to have given all we had left of our rights into the hands of alien tyrants in league with home-bred traitors.

Not to have fought would have been to be false to liberty everywhere, and to humanity. You have only to see who are our friends and who are our enemies in this struggle, to decide for what principles we are combating. We know too well that the British aristocracy is not with us. We know what the West End of London wishes may be result of this controversy. The two halves of this Union are the two blades of the shears, threatening as those of Atropos herself, which will sooner or later cut into shreds the old charters of tyranny. How they would exult if they could but break the rivet that makes of the two blades one resistless weapon! The man who of all living Americans had the best opportunity of knowing how the fact stood wrote these words in March, 1862: "That Great Britain did, in the most terrible moment of our domestic trial in struggling with a monstrous social evil she had earnestly professed to abhor, coldly and at once assume our inability to master it, and then become the only foreign nation steadily contributing in every indirect way possible to verify its prejudgment, will probably be the verdict made up against her by posterity, on a calm comparison of the evidence."

So speaks the wise, tranquil statesman who represents the nation at the Court of St. James, in the midst of embarrassments perhaps not less than those which vexed his illustrious grandfather, when he occupied the same position as the Envoy of the hated, new-born Republic.

"It cannot be denied,"—says another observer, placed on one of our national watch-towers in a foreign capital,—“it cannot be denied that the tendency of European public opinion, as delivered from high places, is more and more unfriendly to our cause”; “but the people,” he adds, “everywhere sympathize with us, for they know that our cause is that of free institutions,—that our struggle is that of the people against an oligarchy.” These are the words of the Minister to Austria, whose generous sympathies with popular liberty no homage paid to his genius by the class whose admiring welcome is most seductive to scholars has ever spoiled: our fellow-citizen, the historian of a great Republic which infused a portion of its life into our own,—John Lothrop Motley.

It is a bitter commentary on the effects of European, and especially of British, institutions that such men should have to speak in such terms of the manner in which our struggle has been regarded. We had, no doubt, very generally reckoned on the sympathy of England, at least, in a strife which, whatever pretexts were alleged as its cause, arrayed upon one side the supporters of an institution she was supposed to hate in earnest, and on the other its assailants. We had forgotten what her own poet, one of the truest and purest of her children, had said of his countrymen, in words which might well have been spoken by the British Premier to the American Ambassador asking for some evidence of kind feeling on the part of his government:—

“Alas! expect it not. We found no bait  
To tempt us in thy country. Doing good,  
Disinterested good, is not our trade.”

We know full well by this time what truth there is in these honest lines. We have found out, too, who our European enemies are, and why they are our enemies. Three bending statues bear up that gilded seat, which, in spite of the time-hallowed usurpations and consecrated wrongs so long associated with its history, is still venerated as the throne. One of these supports is the pensioned church; the second is the purchased army;



the third is the long-suffering people. Whenever the third caryatid comes to life and walks from beneath its burden, the capitals of Europe will be filled with the broken furniture of palaces. No wonder that our ministers find the privileged orders willing to see the ominous republic split into two antagonistic forces, each paralyzing the other, and standing in their mighty impotence a spectacle to courts and kings; to be pointed at as helots who drank themselves blind and giddy out of that broken chalice which held the poisonous draught of liberty!

We know our enemies, and they are the enemies of popular rights. We know our friends, and they are the foremost champions of political and social progress. The eloquent voice and the busy pen of John Bright have both been ours, heartily, nobly, from the first; the man of the people has been true to the cause of the people. That deep and generous thinker, who, more than any of her philosophical writers, represents the higher thought of England, John Stuart Mill, has spoken for us in tones to which none but her sordid hucksters and her selfish land-graspers can refuse to listen. Count Gasparin and Laboulaye have sent us back the echo from liberal France; France, the country of ideas, whose earlier inspirations embodied themselves for us in the person of the youthful Lafayette. Italy,—would you know on which side the rights of the people and the hopes of the future are to be found in this momentous conflict, what surer test, what ampler demonstration can you ask than the eager sympathy of the Italian patriot whose name is the hope of the toiling many, and the dread of their oppressors, wherever it is spoken, the heroic Garibaldi?

War is a child that devours its nurses one after another, until it is claimed by its true parents. This war has eaten its way backward through all the technicalities of lawyers learned in the infinitesimals of ordinances and statutes; through all the casuistries of divines, experts in the differential calculus of conscience and duty; until it stands revealed to all men as the natural and inevitable conflict of two incompatible forms of civilization, one or the other of which must dominate the central zone of the continent, and eventually claim the hemisphere for its development.

We have reached the region of those broad principles and large axioms which the wise Romans, the world's lawgivers, always recognized as above all special enactments. We have come to that solid substratum acknowledged by Grotius in his

great Treatise: "Necessity itself which reduces things to the mere right of Nature." The old rules, which were enough for our guidance in quiet times, have become as meaningless "as moonlight on the dial of the day." We have followed precedents as long as they could guide us: now we must make precedents for the ages which are to succeed us. . . .

What we want now is a strong purpose; the purpose of Luther, when he said, in repeating his Pater Noster, *fiat voluntas MEA*,—let *my* will be done; though he considerately added, *quia Tua*,—because my will is Thine. We want the virile energy of determination which made the oath of Andrew Jackson sound so like the devotion of an ardent saint that the recording angel might have entered it unquestioned among the prayers of the faithful.

War is a grim business. Two years ago our women's fingers were busy making "Havelocks." It seemed to us then as if the Havelock made half the soldier; and now we smile to think of those days of inexperience and illusion. We know now what war means, and we cannot look its dull, dead ghastliness in the face unless we feel that there is some great and noble principle behind it. It makes little difference what we thought we were fighting for at first: we know what we are fighting for now, and what we are fighting against.

We are fighting for our existence. We say to those who would take back their several contributions to that undivided unity which we call the Nation: The bronze is cast; the statue is on its pedestal; you cannot reclaim the brass you flung into the crucible! There are rights, possessions, privileges, policies, relations, duties, acquired, retained, called into existence in virtue of the principle of absolute solidarity,—belonging to the United States as an organic whole,—which cannot be divided, which none of its constituent parties can claim as its own, which perish out of its living frame when the wild forces of rebellion tear it limb from limb, and which it must defend, or confess self-government itself a failure.

We are fighting for that Constitution upon which our national existence reposes, now subjected by those who fired the scroll on which it was written from the cannon at Fort Sumter, to all those chances which the necessities of war entail upon every human arrangement, but still the venerable charter of our wide Republic.

We cannot fight for these objects without attacking the one mother cause of all the progeny of lesser antagonisms. Whether

we know it or not, whether we mean it or not, we cannot help fighting against the system that has proved the source of all those miseries which the author of the Declaration of Independence trembled to anticipate. And this ought to make us willing to do and to suffer cheerfully. There were Holy Wars of old, in which it was glory enough to die, wars in which the one aim was to rescue the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of infidels. The sepulchre of Christ is not in Palestine! He rose from that burial-place more than eighteen hundred years ago. He is crucified wherever his brothers are slain without cause; he lies buried wherever man, made in his Maker's image, is entombed in ignorance lest he should learn the rights which his divine Master gave him!

Citizens of Boston, sons and daughters of New England, men and women of the North, brothers and sisters in the bond of the American Union, you have among you the scarred and wasted soldiers who have shed their blood for your temporal salvation. They bore your nation's emblems bravely through the fire and smoke of the battlefield; nay, their own bodies are starred with bullet-wounds and striped with sabre-cuts, as if to mark them as belonging to their country until their dust becomes a portion of the soil which they defended. In every Northern graveyard slumber the victims of this destroying struggle. Many whom you remember playing as children amidst the clover-blossoms of our Northern fields, sleep under nameless mounds with strange Southern wild-flowers blooming over them. By those wounds of living heroes, by those graves of fallen martyrs, by the hopes of your children and the claims of your children's children yet unborn, in the name of outraged honor, in the interest of violated sovereignty, for the life of an imperilled nation, for the sake of men everywhere and of our common humanity, for the glory of God and the advancement of his kingdom on earth, your country calls upon you to stand by her through good report and through evil report, in triumph and in defeat, until she emerges from the great war of Western civilization, Queen of the broad continent, Arbitress in the councils of earth's emancipated peoples; until the flag that fell from the wall of Fort Sumter floats again inviolate, supreme, over all her ancient inheritance, every fortress, every capital, every ship, and this warring land is once more a United Nation!



In the first volume of Dr. Holmes's Life and Letters, by John T. Morse, Jr., there is a chapter (xi.) with the caption, "The Doctor's Distaste for Public Affairs." "The Doctor," says Mr. Morse, "had no taste and felt no capacity for public affairs, or for any of that labor with organizations, societies, and what not, of a *quasi* public character, in which many persons so usefully interested themselves. Politics, 'movements,' 'causes,' like factories and railroads, were to be handled by those who knew how; it would have been wastefulness for him to do such things badly to the neglect of other things which Nature had designed him to do well. He watched public affairs intelligently; he voted conscientiously; with this he conceived that he had fulfilled his duty." Such being Dr. Holmes's temperament and general attitude, we find that, while the other New England poets, Lowell, Whittier, Longfellow, and Emerson, were on fire with passion during the great anti-slavery struggle, all effectual coworkers with Garrison and Phillips and Sumner, the position of Dr. Holmes, thoroughly as he condemned the institution of slavery, was one that seemed to them lukewarm and unheroic. An interesting reflection of this is the correspondence between Lowell and Holmes in 1846. Lowell's letter unhappily is lost to us; but Dr. Holmes's letter is given entire by Mr. Morse.

But the struggle in Kansas aroused him to indignation, and he came out vigorously for the free-state men. "When at last the war came, it found him, or made him, as it did so many others who had previously felt and talked in the conservative and moderate strain, a strenuous, intense, often a greatly excited patriot, a Unionist, of course, and very soon an anti-slavery man. His eldest son enlisted among the first; but this incentive was not necessary to put the Doctor in the right place. He wrote war lyrics with the spirit of a Tyræus." Of his Fourth of July oration, the more important portion of which is given in the present leaflet, Mr. Morse says: "The only approach to public activity which I recall was his oration, delivered in Boston on the Fourth of July, 1863. I did not hear this, and do not know what oratorical capacity he may have developed; but as one reads it, it seems a speech of the highest order, instinct with stimulating spirit, almost fiery at times, honestly recognizing all the difficulties to be encountered, but with abiding courage to overcome them; expressing an appreciation of the cause, of all that was at stake for humanity and the nation, of the practical situation, the prospects, and of the temper which must be adequate to the trial. It is printed in the 'Pages from an Odd Volume of Life.' I dare say it is not often read nowadays, and in time will be forgotten. But a country must be rich in patriotic eloquence which can afford to let such an address glide out of memory." See also Kennedy's Life of Holmes, pp. 181-86. In the same volume of Dr. Holmes's works in which the Fourth of July oration is printed is included also "My Hunt after the Captain," his account of his search at the front for his son (now the Judge) who had been wounded at Antietam. The number of his poems relating to the war is very large.

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## Gladstone on Tennyson.

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FROM GLADSTONE'S ESSAY ON TENNYSON IN THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW," OCTOBER, 1859.

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Mr. Tennyson published his first volume, under the title of "Poems chiefly Lyrical," in 1830, and his second, with the name simply of "Poems," in 1833. In 1842 he reappeared before the world in two volumes, partly made up from the *débris* of his earlier books; and from this date forward he came into the enjoyment of a popularity at once great, growing, and select. With a manly resolution, which gave promise of the rare excellence he was progressively to attain, he had on this occasion amputated altogether from the collection about one-half of the contents of his earliest work, with some considerable portion of the second; he had almost rewritten or carefully corrected other important pieces, and had added a volume of new compositions.

The later handiwork showed a great advance upon the earlier, as, indeed, 1833 had shown upon 1830. From the very first, however, he had been noteworthy in performance as well as in promise, and it was plain that, whatever else might happen, at least neglect was not to be his lot. But, in the natural heat of youth, he had at the outset certainly mixed up some trivial with a greater number of worthier productions, and had shown an impatience of criticism by which, however excusable, he was sure to be himself the chief sufferer. His higher gifts, too, were of that quality which, by the changeless law of nature, cannot ripen fast; and there was, accordingly, some portion both of obscurity and of crudity in the results of his youthful labors. Men of slighter materials would have come more quickly to their ma-

turity, and might have given less occasion not only for cavil, but for warrantable animadversion. It was yet more creditable to him than it could be even to the just among his critics that he should, and while yet young, have applied himself with so resolute a hand to the work of castigation. He thus gave a remarkable proof alike of his reverence for his art, of his insight into his powers, of the superiority he had acquired to all the more commonplace illusions of self-love, and perhaps of his presaging consciousness that the great, if they mean to fulfil the measure of their greatness, should always be fastidious against themselves.

It would be superfluous to enter upon any general criticism of the collection of 1842, a large portion of which is established in the familiar recollection and favor of the public. We may, however, say that what may be termed at large the classical idea (though it is not that of Troas nor of the Homeric period) has, perhaps, never been grasped with greater force and justice than in "Cenone," nor exhibited in a form of more consummate polish. "Ulysses" is likewise a highly finished poem; but it is open to the remark that it exhibits (so to speak) a corner-view of a character which was in itself a *cosmos*. Never has political philosophy been wedded to the poetic form more happily than in the three short pieces on England and her institutions, unhappily without title, and only to be cited, like writs of law and papal bulls, by their first words. Even among the rejected pieces there are specimens of a deep metaphysical insight; and this power reappears, with an increasing growth of ethical and social wisdom, in "Locksley Hall" and elsewhere. The Wordsworthian poem of "Dora" is admirable in its kind. From the firmness of its drawing, and the depth and singular purity of its color, "Godiva" has from its birth, if we judge aright, stood as at once a great performance and a great pledge. But, above all, the fragmentary piece on the Death of Arthur was a fit prelude to that lordly music of the Idylls, which is now freshly sounding in our ears. If we pass onward from these volumes, it is only because space forbids a further enumeration.

The "Princess" was published in 1847. The author has termed it "a medley": why, we know not. It approaches more nearly to the character of a regular drama, with the stage directions written into verse, than any other of his works, and it is composed, consecutively and throughout, on the basis of one idea. It exhibits an effort to amalgamate the place and function of woman with that of man, and the failure of that effort, which duly winds up with the surrender and marriage of the fairest and



chief enthusiast. It may be doubted whether the idea is one well suited to exhibition in a quasi-dramatic form. Certainly the mode of embodying it, so far as it is dramatic, is not successful; for here again the persons are little better than mere *personæ*. They are *media*, and weak *media*, for the conveyance of the ideas. The poem is, nevertheless, one of high interest, both on account of the force, purity, and nobleness of the main streams of thought, which are clothed in language full of all Mr. Tennyson's high and delicate excellences; and also because it marks the earliest effort of his mind in the direction of his latest and greatest achievements. . . .

With passages like those in the "Princess" and elsewhere still upon the mind and ear, we may confidently assert it as one of Mr. Tennyson's brightest distinctions that he is now what from the very first he strove to be, and what when he wrote "Godiva" he gave ample promise of becoming,—the poet of woman. We do not mean, nor do we know, that his hold over women as his readers is greater than his command or influence over men, but that he has studied, sounded, painted woman in form, in motion, in character, in office, in capability, with rare devotion, power, and skill; and the poet who best achieves this end does also most and best for man.

In 1850 Mr. Tennyson gave to the world, under the title of "*In Memoriam*," perhaps the richest oblation ever offered by the affection of friendship at the tomb of the departed. The memory of Arthur Henry Hallam, who died suddenly in 1833, at the age of twenty-two, will doubtless live chiefly in connection with this volume. But he is well known to have been one who, if the term of his days had been prolonged, would have needed no aid from a friendly hand, would have built his own enduring monument, and would have bequeathed to his country a name in all likelihood greater than that of his very distinguished father. The writer of this paper was, more than half a century ago, in a condition to say

"I marked him  
As a far Alp; and loved to watch the sunrise  
Dawn on his ample brow." \*

There perhaps was no one among those who were blessed with his friendship, nay, as we see, not even Mr. Tennyson, who did not feel at once bound closely to him by commanding affection, and left far behind by the rapid, full, and rich development of his ever-searching mind; by his

\* De Vere's "Mary Tudor," I. V. 1. [This sentence has now been added.—W. E. G., 1878.]

“All comprehensive tenderness,  
All subtilizing intellect.”

It would be easy to show what, in the varied forms of human excellence, he might, had life been granted him, have accomplished; much more difficult to point the finger and to say, “This he never could have done.” Enough remains from among his early efforts to accredit whatever mournful witness may now be borne of him. But what can be a nobler tribute than this, that for seventeen years after his death a poet, fast rising towards the lofty summits of his art, found that young fading image the richest source of his inspiration, and of thoughts that gave him buoyancy for a flight such as he had not hitherto attained?

It would be very difficult to convey a just idea of this volume either by narrative or by quotation. In the series of monodies or meditations which compose it, and which follow in long series without weariness or sameness, the poet never moves away a step from the grave of his friend, but, while still circling round it, has always a new point of view. Strength of love, depth of grief, aching sense of loss, have driven him forth as it were on a quest of consolation, and he asks it of nature, thought, religion, in a hundred forms which a rich and varied imagination continually suggests, but all of them connected by one central point, the recollection of the dead. This work he prosecutes, not in vain effeminate complaint, but in manly recognition of the fruit and profit even of baffled love, in noble suggestions of the future, in heart-soothing and heart-chastening thoughts of what the dead was and of what he is, and of what one who has been, and therefore still is, in near contact with him is bound to be. The whole movement of the poem is between the mourner and the mourned: it may be called one long soliloquy; but it has this mark of greatness, that, though the singer is himself a large part of the subject, it never degenerates into egotism—for he speaks typically on behalf of humanity at large, and in his own name, like Dante on his mystic journey, teaches deep lessons of life and conscience to us all. . . .

By the time “*In Memoriam*” had sunk into the public mind, Mr. Tennyson had taken his rank as our first then living poet. Over the fresh hearts and understandings of the young, notwithstanding his more youthful obscurities, his metaphysics, his contempt of gewgaws, he had established an extraordinary sway. We ourselves, with some thousands of other spectators, saw him receive in that noble structure of Wren, the theatre of Oxford, the decora-

tion of D.C.L., which we perceive he always wears on his title-page. Among his colleagues in the honor were Sir De Lacy Evans and Sir John Burgoyne, fresh from the stirring exploits of the Crimea; but even patriotism, at the fever heat of war, could not command a more fervent enthusiasm for the old and gallant soldiers than was evoked by the presence of Mr. Tennyson.

In the year 1855 Mr. Tennyson proceeded to publish his "Maud," the least popular, and probably the least worthy of popularity, among his more considerable works. A somewhat heavy dreaminess, and a great deal of obscurity, hang about this poem; and the effort required to dispel the darkness of the general scheme is not repaid when we discover what it hides. The main thread of "Maud" seems to be this: A love once accepted, then disappointed, leads to blood-shedding, and onward to madness with lucid alternations. The insanity expresses itself in the ravings of the homicide lover, who even imagines himself among the dead, in a clamor and confusion closely resembling an ill-regulated Bedlam, but which, if the description be a faithful one, would forever deprive the grave of its title to the epithet of silent. It may be good frenzy, but we doubt its being as good poetry. Of all this there may, we admit, be an esoteric view: but we speak of the work as it offers itself to the common eye. Both Maud and the lover are too nebulous by far; and they remind us of the boneless and pulpy personages by whom, as Dr. Whewell assures us, the planet Jupiter, if inhabited at all, is inhabited.

But the most doubtful part of the poem is its climax. A vision of the beloved image "spoke of a hope for the world in the coming wars," righteous wars of course, and the madman begins to receive light and comfort; but, strangely enough, it seems to be the wars, and not the image, in which the source of consolation lies.

"No more shall commerce be all in all, and Peace  
Pipe on her pastoral hillock a languid note,  
And watch her harvest ripen, her herd increase. . . .  
. . . . a peace that was full of wrongs and shames,  
Horrible, hateful; monstrous, not to be told . . .  
For the long, long canker of peace is over and done:  
And now by the side of the Black and the Baltic deep,  
And deathful grinning mouths of the fortress, flames  
The blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire!"

What interpretation are we meant to give to all this sound and fury? We would fain have put it down as intended to be the



finishing-stroke in the picture of a mania which has reached its zenith.

We might call in aid of this construction more happy and refreshing passages from other poems, as when Mr. Tennyson is

“Certain, if knowledge brings the sword,  
That knowledge takes the sword away.” \*

And again in “The Golden Dream,”

“When shall all men’s good  
Be each man’s rule, and universal peace  
Lie like a shaft of light across the land?”

And yet once more in a noble piece of “*In Memoriam*,”

“Ring out old shapes of foul disease,  
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;  
Ring out the thousand wars of old,  
Ring in the thousand years of peace.”

But, on the other hand, we must recollect that very long ago, when the apparition of invasion from across the Channel had as yet spoiled no man’s slumbers, Mr. Tennyson’s blood was already up:—

“For the French, the Pope may shrive them . . . . .  
And the merry devil drive them  
Through the water and the fire.”

And, unhappily, in the beginning of “Maud,” when still in the best use of such wits as he possesses, its hero deals largely in kindred extravagances:—

“When a Mammonite mother kills her babe for a burial fee,  
And Timour-Mammon grins on a pile of children’s bones,  
Is it peace or war? better war! loud war by land and by sea,  
War with a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones.”

He then anticipates that, upon an enemy’s attacking this country, “the smooth-faced, snub-nosed rogue,” who typifies the bulk of the British people, “the nation of shopkeepers,” as it has been emasculated and corrupted by excess of peace, will leap from his counter and till to charge the enemy; and thus it is to be reasonably hoped that we shall attain to the effectual renovation of society.

\* See also “Locksley Hall,”

“Till the war-drum throb’d no longer, and the battle-flags were furl’d  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.  
There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,  
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.”

We frankly own that our divining rod does not enable us to say whether the poet intends to be in any and what degree sponsor to these sentiments, or whether he has put them forth in the exercise of his undoubted right to make vivid and suggestive representations of even the more partial and narrow aspects of some endangered truth. This is at best, indeed, a perilous business; for out of such fervid partial representations nearly all grave human error springs; and it should only be pursued with caution and in season. But we do not recollect that 1855 was a season of serious danger from a mania for peace and its pursuits; and, even if it had been so, we fear that the passages we have quoted are such as overpass the bounds of moderation and good sense. It is, indeed, true that peace has its moral perils and temptations for degenerate man, as has every other blessing, without exception, that he can receive from the hand of God. It is moreover not less true that, amidst the clash of arms, the noblest forms of character may be reared, and the highest acts of duty done; that these great and precious results may be due to war as their cause; and that one high form of sentiment in particular, the love of country, receives a powerful and general stimulus from the bloody strife. But this is as the furious cruelty of Pharaoh made place for the benign virtue of his daughter; as the butchering sentence of Herod raised without doubt many a mother's love in heroic sublimity; as plague, as famine, as fire, as flood, as every curse and every scourge that is wielded by an angry Providence for the chastisement of man, is an appointed instrument for tempering human souls in the seven-times heated furnace of affliction, up to the standard of angelic and archangelic virtue.

War, indeed, has the property of exciting much generous and noble feeling on a large scale; but with this special recommendation it has, in its modern forms especially, peculiar and unequalled evils. As it has a wider sweep of desolating power than the rest, so it has the peculiar quality that it is more susceptible of being decked in gaudy trappings, and of fascinating the imagination of those whose proud and angry passions it inflames. But it is, on this very account, a perilous delusion to teach that war is a cure for moral evil, in any other sense than as the sister tribulations are. The eulogies of the frantic hero in "Maud," however, deviate into grosser folly. It is natural that such vagaries should overlook the fixed laws of Providence. Under these laws the mass of mankind is composed of men, women, and children who can but just ward off hunger, cold, and nakedness; whose whole

ideas of Mammon-worship are comprised in the search for their daily food, clothing, shelter, fuel; whom any casualty reduces to positive want; and whose already low estate is yet further lowered and ground down, when "the blood-red blossom of war flames with its heart of fire." But what is a little strange is that war should be recommended as a specific for the particular evil of Mammon-worship. Such it never was, even in the days when the Greek heroes longed for the booty of Troy. . . .

Still it had, in times now gone by, ennobling elements and tendencies of the less sordid kind. But one inevitable characteristic of modern war is that it is associated throughout, in all its particulars, with a vast and most irregular formation of commercial enterprise. There is no incentive to Mammon-worship so remarkable as that which it affords. The political economy of war is now one of its most commanding aspects. Every farthing, with the smallest exceptions conceivable, of the scores or hundreds of millions which a war may cost, goes directly, and very violently, to stimulate production, though it is intended ultimately for waste or for destruction. Even apart from the fact that war suspends, *ipso facto*, every rule of public thrift, and tends to sap honesty itself in the use of the public treasure for which it makes such unbounded calls, it therefore is the greatest feeder of that lust of gold which, we are told, is the essence of commerce, though we had hoped it was only its occasional besetting sin. It is, however, more than this; for the regular commerce of peace is tameness itself compared with the gambling spirit which war, through the rapid shiftings and high prices which it brings, always introduces into trade. In its moral operation it more resembles, perhaps, the finding of a new gold-field than anything else. Meantime, as the most wicked mothers do not kill their offspring from a taste for the practice in the abstract, but under the pressure of want, and as war always brings home want to a larger circle of the people than feel it in peace, we ask the hero of "Maud" to let us know whether war is more likely to reduce or to multiply the horrors which he denounces? Will more babies be poisoned amidst comparative ease and plenty, or when, as before the fall of Napoleon, provisions were twice as dear as they now are, and wages not much more than half as high? Romans and Carthaginians were pretty much given to war; but no nations were more sedulous in the cult of Mammon. Again, the Scriptures are pretty strong against Mammon-worship, but they do not recommend this original and peculiar cure. Nay, once more: what sad errors must have crept



into the text of the prophet Isaiah when he is made to desire that our swords shall be converted into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks.

We have, however, this solid consolation after all, that Mr. Tennyson's war poetry is not comparable to his poetry of peace. Indeed, he is not here successful at all: the work, of a lower order than his, demands the abrupt force and the lyric fire, which do not seem to be among his varied and brilliant gifts. We say more. Mr. Tennyson is too intimately and essentially the poet of the nineteenth century to separate himself from its leading characteristics, the progress of physical science, and a vast commercial, mechanical, and industrial development. Whatever he may say or do in an occasional fit, he cannot long either cross or lose its sympathies; for, while he elevates as well as adorns it, he is flesh of its flesh and bone of its bone. We fondly believe it is his business to do much towards the solution of that problem, so fearful from its magnitude, how to harmonize this new draught of external power and activity with the old and more mellow wine of faith, self-devotion, loyalty, reverence, and discipline. And all that we have said is aimed, not at Mr. Tennyson, but at a lay-figure which he has set up, and into the mouth of which he has put words that cannot be his words.\*

We return to our proper task. "Maud," if an unintelligible or even, for Mr. Tennyson, an inferior work, is still a work which no inferior man could have produced; nor would it be difficult to extract abundance of lines, and even passages, obviously worthy of their author. And, if this poem would have made while

\* [In this attempt at a criticism upon "Maud," I can now see, and I at once confess, that a feeling, which had reference to the growth of the war-spirit in the outer world at the date of this article, dislocated my frame of mind, and disabled me from dealing even tolerably with the work as a work of imagination. Whether it is to be desired that a poem should require from common men a good deal of effort in order to comprehend it; whether all that is put into the mouth of the Soliloquist in "Maud" is within the lines of poetical verisimilitude; whether this poem has the full moral equilibrium which is so marked a characteristic of the sister-works,—are questions open, perhaps, to discussion. But I have neither done justice in the text to its rich and copious beauties of detail, nor to its great lyrical and metrical power. And, what is worse, I have failed to comprehend rightly the relation between particular passages in the poem and its general scope. This is, I conceive, not to set forth any coherent strain, but to use for poetical ends all the moods and phases allowable under the laws of the art, in a special form of character, which is impassioned, fluctuating, and ill-grounded. The design, which seems to resemble that of the Ecclesiastes in another sphere, is arduous; but Mr. Tennyson's power of execution is probably nowhere greater. Even as regards the passages devoted to war-frenzy, equity should have reminded me of the fine lines in the *latter* portion of X. 3 (Part I.), and of the emphatic words, v. 11. (Part II.):—

"I swear to you lawful and lawless war  
Are scarcely even akin."

W. E. G., 1878.]

alone a volume too light for his fame, the defect is supplied by the minor pieces, some of which are admirable. "The Brook," with its charming interstitial soliloquy, and the "Letters" will, we are persuaded, always rank among Mr. Tennyson's happy efforts; while the "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington," written from the heart and sealed by the conscience of the poet, is worthy of that great and genuine piece of manhood, its immortal subject.

We must touch for a moment upon what has already been mentioned as a separate subject of interest in the "Princess." We venture to describe it as in substance a drama, with a plot imperfectly worked and with characters insufficiently chiselled and relieved. Its author began by presenting, and for many years continued to present, personal as well as natural pictures of individual attitude or movement; and, as in "Ænone" and "Godiva," he carried them to a very high pitch of perfection. But he scarcely attempted, unless in his more homely narrations, anything like grouping or combination. It now appears that for this higher effort he has been gradually accumulating and preparing his resources. In the sections of the prolonged soliloquy of "Maud" we see a crude attempt at representing combined interests and characters with heroic elevation, under the special difficulty of appearing, like Mathews, in one person only; in the "Princess" we had a happier effort, though one that still left more to be desired. Each, however, in its own stage, served as a preparation for an enterprise at once bolder and more mature.

We now come to the new work of the poet, the "Idylls of the King." The field which Mr. Tennyson has chosen for this his recent and by far greatest exploit is one of so deep and wide-reaching an interest as to demand some previous notice of a special kind.

Lofty example in comprehensive forms is, without doubt, one of the great standing needs of our race. To this want it has been from the first one main purpose of the highest poetry to answer. The quest of Beauty leads all those who engage in it to the ideal or normal man, as the summit of attainable excellence. By no arbitrary choice, but in obedience to unchanging laws, the painter and the sculptor must found their art upon the study of the human form, and must reckon its successful reproduction as their noblest and most consummate exploit. The concern of Poetry with corporal beauty is, though important, yet secondary: this art uses form as an auxiliary, as a subordinate though proper part in the

delineation of mind and character, of which it is appointed to be a visible organ. But with mind and character themselves lies the highest occupation of the Muse. Homer, the patriarch of poets, has founded his two immortal works upon two of these ideal developments in Achilles and Ulysses; and has adorned them with others, such as Penelope and Helen, Hector and Diomed, every one an immortal product, though as compared with the others either less consummate or less conspicuous. Though deformed by the mire of after-tradition, all the great characters of Homer have become models and standards, each in its own kind, for what was, or was supposed to be, its distinguishing gift.

At length, after many generations, and great revolutions of mind and of events, another age arrived, like, if not equal, in creative power to that of Homer. The Gospel had given to the life of civilized man a real resurrection, and its second birth was followed by its second youth. This rejuvenescence was allotted to those wonderful centuries which popular ignorance confounds with the dark ages properly so called—an identification about as rational as if we were to compare our own life within the womb to the same life in intelligent though early childhood. Awakened to aspirations at once fresh and ancient, the mind of man took hold of the venerable ideals bequeathed to us by the Greeks as a precious part of its inheritance, and gave them again to the light, appropriated, but also renewed. The old materials came forth, but not alone; for the types which human genius had formerly conceived were now submitted to the transfiguring action of a law from on high. Nature herself prompted the effort to bring the old patterns of worldly excellence and greatness—or rather the copies of those patterns still legible, though depraved, and still rich with living suggestion—into harmony with that higher Pattern, once seen by the eyes and handled by the hands of men, and faithfully delineated in the Gospels for the profit of all generations. The life of our Saviour, in its external aspect, was that of a teacher. It was, in principle, a model for all; but it left space and scope for adaptations to the lay life of Christians in general, such as those by whom the every-day business of the world is to be carried on. It remained for man to make his best endeavor to exhibit the great model on its terrestrial side, in its contact with the world. Here is the true source of that new and noble Cycle which the Middle Ages have handed down to us in duality of form, but with a close related substance, under the royal sceptres of Arthur in England and of Charlemagne in France.



Of the two great systems of Romance, one has Lancelot, the other has Orlando, for its culminating point; these heroes being exhibited as the respective specimens in whose characters the fullest development of man, such as he was then conceived, was to be recognized. The one put forward Arthur for the visible head of Christendom, signifying and asserting its social unity; the other had Charlemagne. Each arrays, round about the Sovereign, a fellowship of knights. In them, Valor is the servant of Honor; in an age of which violence is the besetting danger, the protection of the weak is elevated into a first principle of action; and they betoken an order of things, in which Force should be only known as allied with Virtue, while they historically foreshadow the magnificent aristocracy of mediæval Europe. . . .

The date of Sir Thomas Mallory, who lived under Edward IV., is something earlier than that of the great Italian romances; England was younger in its poetical development; he appears, too, to have been on the whole content with the humble offices of a compiler and a chronicler, and we may conceive that his spirit and diction are still older than his date. The consequence is that we are brought into more immediate and fresher contact with the original forms of this romance. So that, as they present themselves to us, the Carlovingian cycle is the child of the latest Middle Age, while the Arthurian represents the earlier.

Much might be said on the specific differences which have thus arisen, and on those which may be due to a more northern and a more southern extraction respectively. Suffice it to say that the Romance of the Round Table, far less vivid and brilliant, far ruder as a work of skill and art, has more of the innocence, the emotion, the transparency, the inconsistency of childhood. Its political action is less specifically Christian than that of the rival scheme, its individual portraits more so. It is more directly and seriously aimed at the perfection of man. It is more free from gloss and varnish; it tells its own tale with more entire simplicity. The ascetic element is more strongly, and at the same time more quaintly, developed. It has a higher conception of the nature of woman; and, like the Homeric poems, it appears to eschew exhibiting her perfections in alliance with warlike force and exploits. So also love, while largely infused into the story, is more subordinate to the exhibition of other qualities. Again, the Romance of the Round Table bears witness to a more distinct and keener sense of sin; and, on the whole, a deeper, broader, and more manly view of human character, life, and duty.

It is in effect more like what the Carlovingian cycle might have been, had Dante moulded it. It hardly needs to be added that it is more mythical, inasmuch as Arthur of the Round Table is a personage, we fear, wholly doubtful, though not impossible; while the broad back of the historic Charlemagne, like another Atlas, may well sustain a world of legendary accretions.

It is to this rich repository that Mr. Tennyson has resorted for his material. He has shown, as we think, rare judgment in the choice. The Arthurian Romance has every recommendation that should win its way to the homage of a great poet. It is national: it is Christian. It is also human in the largest and deepest sense; and, therefore, though highly national, it is universal; for it rests upon those depths and breadths of our nature, to which all its truly great developments, in all nations, are alike essentially and closely related. The distance is enough for atmosphere, not too much for detail; enough for romance, not too much for sympathy. A poet of the nineteenth century, the Laureate has in the main appropriated and adapted characters, incidents, and even language, instead of attempting to project them, on a basis of his own, in the region of illimitable fancy. But he has done much more than this. Evidently, by reading and by deep meditation, as well as by sheer force of genius, he has penetrated himself, down to the very core of his being, with all that is deepest and best in the spirit of the time, or in the representation with which he deals; and as others, using old materials, have been free to alter them in the sense of vulgarity or license, so he has claimed and used the right to sever and recombine, to enlarge, retrench, and modify, for the purposes at once of a more powerful and elaborate art than his original presents and of a yet more elevated, or at least of a far more sustained, ethical and Christian strain. . . .

In the face of all critics the Laureate of England has now reached a position which at once imposes and instills respect. They are self-constituted; but he has won his way through the long dedication of his manful energies, accepted and crowned by deliberate and, we rejoice to think, by continually growing public favor. He has after all, and it is not the least nor lowest item in his praise, been the severest of his own critics; and has not been too proud either to learn or to unlearn in the work of maturing his genius and building up his fame.

From his very first appearance he has had the form and fashion of a true poet: the delicate insight into beauty, the refined perception of harmony, the faculty of suggestion, the eye both in the

physical and moral world for motion, light, and color, the sympathetic and close observation of nature, the dominance of the constructive faculty, and that rare gift, the thorough mastery and loving use of his native tongue. Many of us, the common crowd, made of the common clay, may be lovers of Nature. A few may be as sincere or even as ardent as Mr. Tennyson. But it does not follow that even these favored ones possess the privilege that he enjoys. To them she speaks through vague and indeterminate impressions; for him she has a voice of the most finished articulation; all her images to him are clear and definite, and he translates them for us into that language of suggestion, emphasis, and refined analogy which links the manifold to the simple, and the infinite to the finite. He accomplishes for us what we should in vain attempt for ourselves, enables the puny hand to lay hold on what is vast, and brings even the common coarseness of grasp into a real contact with what is subtle and ethereal. His turn for metaphysical analysis is closely associated with a deep ethical insight; and many of his verses form sayings of so high a class that we trust they are destined to contribute a permanent part of the household-words of England. . . .

Mr. Tennyson's Arthurian essays continually suggest to us comparisons not so much with any one poet as a whole, but rather with many or most of the highest poets. The music and the just and pure modulation of his verse carry us back not only to the fine ear of Shelley, but to Milton and to Shakespeare; and his powers of fancy and of expression have produced passages which, if they are excelled by that one transcendent and ethereal poet of our nation whom we have last named, yet hardly could have been produced by any other English minstrel. Our author has a right to regard his own blank verse as highly characteristic and original; but yet Milton has contributed to its formation, and occasionally there is a striking resemblance in turn and diction, while Mr. Tennyson is the more idiomatic of the two. The chastity and moral elevation of this volume, its essential and profound though not didactic Christianity, are such as perhaps cannot be matched throughout the circle of English literature \* in conjunction with an equal power; and such as even to recall a pattern which we know not whether Mr. Tennyson has studied, the celestial strain of

\* [At the date of this Review the "Dream of Gerontius" by Dr. Newman had not been published. It appeared in 1865, without the Author's name, and in the unpretending form of a thin 32mo book or *booklet*. For this or some other unsatisfactory reason, it has never attained the renown it deserves. It was republished in 1868, in a volume which bore the initials J. H. N.—W. E. G., 1878.]



Dante.\* This is the more remarkable, because he has had to tread upon ground which must have been slippery for any foot but his.

But the grand poetical quality, in which the new volume gives to its author a new rank and standing, is its dramatic power; the power of drawing character, and of representing action. These faculties have not been precocious in Mr. Tennyson; but what is more material, they have now come out in great force. He has always been fond of personal delineations, from Claribel and Lilian down to his Ida, his Psyche, and his Maud; but they have been of dreamy, shadowy quality, doubtful as to flesh and blood, and with eyes having little or no speculation in them. He is far greater and far better when he has, as he now has, a good raw material ready to his hand, than when he draws only on the airy or chaotic regions of what Carlyle calls unconditioned possibility. He is made not so much to convert the moor into the field as the field into the rich and gorgeous garden. The imperfect *nisus*, which might be remarked in some former works, has at length reached the fulness of dramatic energy; in the Idylls we have no vagueness or thinness to complain of; everything lives and moves in the royal strength of nature; the fire of Prometheus has fairly caught the clay; each figure stands clear, broad, and sharp before us, as if it had sky for its background; and this of small as well as great, for even the "little novice" is projected on the canvas with the utmost truth and vigor, and with that admirable effect in heightening the great figure of Guinevere, which Patroclus produces for the character of Achilles, and (as some will have it) the modest structure of St. Margaret's for the giant proportions of Westminster Abbey. And this, we repeat, is the crowning gift of the poet,—the power of conceiving and representing man.

We do not believe that a Milton—or, in other words, the writer of a "Paradise Lost"—could ever be so great as a Shakespeare or a Homer, because (setting aside all other questions) his chief characters are neither human, nor can they be legitimately founded upon humanity;† and, moreover, what he has to represent of man is, by the very law of its being, limited in scale and development. Here at least the saying is a true one in its full scope; *Antiquitas*

\* It is no reproach to say that neither Dante nor Homer could have been studied by Mr. Tennyson at the time (a very early period of his life) when he wrote the lines which are allotted to them respectively in "The Palace of Art."

† But I commend to the notice of the reader the *Saggio* of Bonaventura Zumbini on the sublime Satan of "Paradise Lost," in "Saggi Critici," Napoli, 1876.—W. E. G., 1878.]

*sæculi, juventus mundi*; rendered by our Laureate in "The Day-dream,"

"For we are ancients of the earth,  
And in the morning of the times."

The Adam and Eve of Paradise exhibit to us the first inception of our race; and neither then, nor after their first sad lesson, could they furnish those materials for representations which their descendants have accumulated in the school of their incessant and many-colored, but on the whole too gloomy, experience. To the long chapters of that experience, every generation of man makes its own addition. Again, we ask the aid of Mr. Tennyson in "Locksley Hall":—

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

The substitution of law for force has, indeed, altered the relations of the strong and the weak; the hardening or cooling down of political institutions and social traditions, the fixed and legal track instead of the open pathless field, have removed or neutralized many of those occasions and passages of life which were formerly the schools of individual character. The genius of mechanism has vied, in the arts both of peace and war, with the strong hand, and has well-nigh robbed it of its place. But let us not be deceived by that smoothness of superficies which the social prospect offers to the distant eye. Nearness dispels the illusion; life is still as full of deep, of varied, of ecstatic, of harrowing interests as it ever was. The heart of man still beats and bounds, exults and suffers, from causes which are only less salient and conspicuous, because they are more mixed and diversified. It still undergoes every phase of emotion, and even, as seems probable, with a susceptibility which has increased and is increasing, and which has its index and outer form in the growing delicacy and complexities of the nervous system. Does any one believe that ever at any time there was a greater number of deaths referable to that comprehensive cause, a broken heart? Let none fear that this age, or any coming one, will extirpate the material of poetry. The more reasonable apprehension might be lest it should sap the vital force necessary to handle that material, and mould it into appropriate forms. To those especially who cherish any such apprehension, we recommend the perusal of this volume. Of it we will say without fear, what we would not dare to say of any other recent work: that of itself it raises the character and the hopes.

of the age and the country which have produced it, and that its author, by his own single strength, has made a sensible addition to the permanent wealth of mankind.

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*Arthur Henry Hallam on Tennyson, from a review of Tennyson's Poems published in the Englishman's Magazine, 1831.*

One of the faithful Islâm, a poet in the truest and highest sense, we are anxious to present to our readers. He has yet written little and published less; but in these "preludes of a loftier strain" we recognize the inspiring God. Mr. Tennyson belongs decidedly to the class we have already described as Poets of Sensation. He sees all the forms of nature with the "eruditus oculus," and his ear has a fairy fineness. There is a strange earnestness in his worship of beauty which throws a charm over his impassioned song, more easily felt than described, and not to be escaped by those who have once felt it. We think he has more definitiveness and roundness of general conception than the late Mr. Keats, and is much more free from blemishes of diction and hasty capriccios of fancy. He has also this advantage over that poet and his friend Shelley, that he comes before the public unconnected with any political party or peculiar system of opinions. Nevertheless, true to the theory we have stated, we believe his participation in their characteristic excellencies is sufficient to secure him a share of their unpopularity. The volume of "Poems, chiefly Lyrical," does not contain above 154 pages; but it shows us much more of the character of its parent mind than many books we have known of much larger compass and more boastful pretensions. The features of original genius are clearly and strongly marked. The author imitates nobody: we recognize the spirit of his age, but not the individual form of this or that writer. His thoughts bear no more resemblance to Byron or Scott, Shelley or Coleridge, than to Homer or Calderon, Firdúsí or Calidasa. We have remarked five distinctive excellencies of his own manner. First, his luxuriance of imagination, and at the same time, his control over it. Secondly, his power of embodying himself in ideal characters, or rather moods of character, with such extreme accuracy of adjustment that the circumstances of the narration seem to have a natural correspondence with the predominant feeling, and, as it were, to be evolved from it by assimilative force. Thirdly, his vivid, picturesque delineation of objects, and the peculiar skill with which he holds all of them *fused*, to borrow a metaphor from science, in a medium of strong emotion. Fourthly, the variety of his lyrical measures, and exquisite modulation of harmonious words and cadences to the swell and fall of the feelings expressed. Fifthly, the elevated habits of thought, implied in these compositions, and imparting a mellow soberness of tone, more impressive to our minds than if the author had drawn up a set of opinions in verse, and sought to instruct



the understanding rather than to communicate the love of beauty to the heart.

*John Sterling on Tennyson, from an article on "Poems by Alfred Tennyson," in the Quarterly Review, 1842.*

Little as is all that has been done towards the poetic representation of our time,—even in the looser and readier form of prose romance,—it is hard to suppose that it is incapable of such treatment. The still unadulterated purity of home among large circles of the nation presents an endless abundance of the feelings and characters, the want of which nothing else in existence can supply even to a poet. And these soft and steady lights strike an observer all the more from the restless activity and freedom of social ambition, the shifting changes of station, and the wealth gathered on one hand and spent on the other with an intenseness and amplitude of will, to which there is at least nothing now comparable among mankind. The power of self-subjection combined with almost boundless liberty, indeed necessitated by it, and the habit of self-denial with wealth beyond all calculation,—these are indubitable facts in modern England. But, while recognized as facts, how far do they still remain from that development as thoughts, which philosophy desires, or that vividness as images, which is the aim of poetry! It is easy to say that the severity of conscience in the best minds checks all play of fancy, and the fierceness of the outward struggle for power and riches absorbs the energies that would otherwise exert themselves in shapeful melody. But, had we minds full of the idea and the strength requisite for such work, they would find in this huge, harassed, and luxurious national existence the nourishment, not the poison, of creative art. The death-struggle of commercial and political rivalry, the brooding doubt and remorse, the gas-jet flame of faith irradiating its own coal-mine darkness,—in a word, our overwrought materialism, fevered by its own excess into spiritual dreams,—all this might serve the purposes of a bold imagination, no less than the creed of the antipoetic Puritans became poetry in the mind of Milton; and all bigotries, superstitions, and gore-dyed horrors were flames that kindled steady light in Shakspeare's humane and meditative song. . . .

In thus pointing to the problem which poetry now holds out, and maintaining that it has been but partially solved by our most illustrious writers, there is no design of setting up an unattainable standard, and then blaming any one in particular for inevitably falling short of it. Out of an age so diversified, and as yet so unshapely, he who draws forth any graceful and expressive forms is well entitled to high praise. Turning into fixed beauty any part of the shifting and mingled matter of our time, he does what in itself is very difficult, and affords very valuable help to all his future fellow-laborers. If he has not given us back our age as a whole transmuted into crystalline clearness and lustre, a work accomplished only by a few of the greatest minds under

the happiest circumstances for their art, yet we scarce know to whom we should be equally grateful as to him who has enriched us with any shapes of lasting loveliness, "won from the vague and formless infinite.

Mr. Tennyson has done more of this kind than almost any one that has appeared among us during the last twenty years. And in such a task of alchemy a really successful experiment, even on a small scale, is of great worth, compared with the thousands of fruitless efforts or pretences on the largest plan, which are daily clamoring for all men's admiration of their nothingness.

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*Emerson on Tennyson, from an article on "Europe and European Books," in "The Dial," vol. iii, April, 1843.*

Notwithstanding all Wordsworth's grand merits, it was a great pleasure to know that Alfred Tennyson's two volumes were coming out in the same ship; it was a great pleasure to receive them. The elegance, the wit and subtlety of this writer, his rich fancy, his power of language, his metrical skill, his independence on any living masters, his peculiar topics, his taste for the costly and gorgeous, discriminate the musky poet of gardens and conservatories, of parks and palaces. Perhaps we felt the popular objection that he wants rude truth; he is too fine. In these boudoirs of damask and alabaster, one is farther off from stern nature and human life than in Lalla Rookh and "The Loves of the Angels." Amid swinging censers and perfumed lamps, amidst velvet and glory we long for rain and frost. Otto-of-roses is good, but wild air is better. A critical friend of ours affirms that the vice which bereaved modern painters of their power, is the ambition to begin where their fathers ended; to equal the masters in their exquisite finish, instead of their religious purpose. The painters are not willing to paint ill enough; they will not paint for their times, agitated by the spirit which agitates their country; so should their picture picture us and draw all men after them; but they copy the technics of their predecessors, and paint for there predecessors' public. It seems as if the same vice had worked in poetry. Tennyson's compositions are not so much poems as studies in poetry, or sketches after the styles of sundry old masters. He is not the husband, who builds the homestead after his own necessity, from foundation-stone to chimney-top and turret, but a tasteful bachelor who collects quaint staircases and groined ceilings. We have no right to such superfineness. We must not make our bread of pure sugar. These delicacies and splendors are then legitimate when they are the excess of substantial and necessary expenditure. The best songs in English poetry are by that heavy, hard, pedantic poet, Ben Jonson. Jonson is rude, and only on rare occasions gay. Tennyson is always fine; but Jonson's beauty is more grateful than Tennyson's. It is a natural manly grace of a robust workman. Ben's flowers are not in pots at a city florist's,

arranged on a flower-stand, but he is a countryman at a harvest-home, attending his ox-cart from the fields, loaded with potatoes and apples, with grapes and plums, with nuts and berries, and stuck with boughs of hemlock and sweet-briar, with ferns and pond lilies which the children have gathered. But let us not quarrel with our benefactors. Perhaps Tennyson is too quaint and elegant. What then? It is long since we have had as good a lyrist; it will be long before we have his superior. "Godiva" is a noble poem that will tell the legend a thousand years. The poem of all the poetry of the present age for which we predict the longest term, is "Abou ben Adhem," of Leigh Hunt. Fortune will still have her part in every victory, and it is strange that one of the best poems should be written by a man who has hardly written any other. And "Godiva" is a parable which belongs to the same gospel. "Locksley Hall" and "The Two Voices" are meditative poems, which were slowly written to be slowly read. "The Talking Oak," though a little hurt by its wit and ingenuity, is beautiful, and the most poetic of the volume. "Ulysses" belongs to a high class of poetry, destined to be the highest, and to be more cultivated in the next generation. "Ænone" was a sketch of the same kind. One of the best specimens we have of the class is Wordsworth's "Laodamia," of which no special merit it can possess equals the total merit of having selected such a subject in such a spirit.

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Alfred Tennyson was born at Somersby in Lincolnshire, Aug. 6. 1809, and died at Aldworth, Oct. 6, 1892. He and his brother Charles published "Poems by Two Brothers" in 1827. His volume entitled "Poems, chiefly Lyrical" appeared in 1830; and his greater works rapidly followed. In 1837 he was first introduced to Mr. Gladstone, who became thenceforth his cordial admirer and friend. They were born in the same year. Gladstone's review of Tennyson, the greater part of which is reprinted in the present leaflet, appeared in 1859; the long analysis of the Idyles and a few other passages are omitted. The brief passages from Arthur Henry Hallam, John Sterling, and Emerson, are added as memorable illustrations of the early appreciation of Tennyson by the best minds. Hallam's article, or the greater part of it may be found in Hallam's "Remains"; Sterling's article, in Sterling's "Essays and Tales"; Emerson's article, in the volume entitled "The Natural History of Intellect." An admirable account of Tennyson's successive works is given by Canon Ainger in his thorough article on Tennyson in the Dictionary of National Biography. See the Life of Tennyson by his son.

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# The Education of Darwin.

THE FIRST SECTION OF DARWIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, WRITTEN  
IN 1876.

A German Editor having written to me for an account of the development of my mind and character with some sketch of my autobiography, I have thought that the attempt would amuse me, and might possibly interest my children or their children. I know that it would have interested me greatly to have read even so short and dull a sketch of the mind of my grandfather, written by himself, and what he thought and did, and how he worked. I have attempted to write the following account of myself, as if I were a dead man in another world looking back at my own life. Nor have I found this difficult, for life is nearly over with me. I have taken no pains about my style of writing.

I was born at Shrewsbury on February 12th, 1809, and my earliest recollection goes back only to when I was a few months over four years old, when we went to near Abergele for sea-bathing, and I recollect some events and places there with some little distinctness.

My mother died in July, 1817, when I was a little over eight years old, and it is odd that I can remember hardly anything about her except her death-bed, her black velvet gown, and her curiously constructed work-table. In the spring of this same year I was sent to a day school in Shrewsbury, where I stayed a year. I have been told that I was much slower in learning

than my younger sister Catherine, and I believe that I was in many ways a naughty boy.

By the time I went to this day school \* my taste for natural history, and more especially for collecting, was well developed. I tried to make out the names of plants,† and collected all sorts of things, shells, seals, franks, coins, and minerals. The passion for collecting which leads a man to be a systematic naturalist, a virtuoso, or a miser, was very strong in me, and was clearly innate, as none of my sisters or brother ever had this taste.

One little event during this year has fixed itself very firmly in my mind, and I hope that it has done so from my conscience having been afterwards sorely troubled by it; it is curious as showing that apparently I was interested at this early age in the variability of plants. I told another little boy (I believe it was Leighton, who afterwards became a well-known lichenologist and botanist) that I could produce variously colored polyanthuses and primroses by watering them with certain colored fluids, which was of course a monstrous fable and had never been tried by me. I may here also confess that as a little boy I was much given to inventing deliberate falsehoods, and this was always done for the sake of causing excitement. For instance, I once gathered much valuable fruit from my father's trees and hid it in the shrubbery, and then ran in breathless haste to spread the news that I had discovered a hoard of stolen fruit.

I must have been a very simple little fellow when I first went to the school. A boy of the name of Garnett took me into a cake-shop one day, and bought some cakes for which he did not pay, as the shopman trusted him. When we came out I asked him why he did not pay for them, and he instantly answered, "Why, do you not know that my uncle left a great sum of money to the town on condition that every tradesman should give whatever was wanted without payment to any one who wore his old

\* Kept by Rev. G. Case, minister of the Unitarian Chapel in the High Street. Mrs. Darwin was a Unitarian and attended Mr. Case's chapel, and my father as a little boy went there with his elder sisters. But both he and his brother were christened and intended to belong to the Church of England, and after his early boyhood he seems usually to have gone to church and not to Mr. Case's. It appears (*St. James Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1883) that a mural tablet has been erected to his memory in the chapel, which is now known as the "Free Christian Church."—F. D.

† Rev. W. A. Leighton, who was a schoolfellow of my father's at Mr. Case's school remembers his bringing a flower to school and saying that his mother had taught him how, by looking at the inside of the blossom, the name of the plant could be discovered. Mr. Leighton goes on, "This greatly roused my attention and curiosity, and I inquired of him repeatedly how this could be done?"—but his lesson was, naturally enough, not transmissible.—F. D.

hat and moved [it] in a particular manner?" and he then showed me how it was moved. He then went into another shop where he was trusted, and asked for some small article, moving his hat in the proper manner, and of course obtained it without payment. When we came out, he said, "Now if you like to go by yourself into that cake-shop (how well I remember its exact position), I will lend you my hat, and you can get whatever you like if you move the hat on your head properly." I gladly accepted the generous offer, and went in and asked for some cakes, moved the old hat and was walking out of the shop, when the shopman made a rush at me, so I dropped the cakes and ran for dear life, and was astonished by being greeted with shouts of laughter by my false friend Garnett.

I can say in my own favor that I was as a boy humane, but I owed this entirely to the instruction and example of my sisters. I doubt indeed whether humanity is a natural or innate quality. I was very fond of collecting eggs, but I never took more than a single egg out of a bird's nest, except on one single occasion, when I took all, not for their value, but from a sort of bravado.

I had a strong taste for angling, and would sit for any number of hours on the bank of a river or pond watching the float; when at Maer\* I was told that I could kill the worms with salt and water, and from that day I never spitted a living worm, though at the expense probably of some loss of success.

Once as a very little boy whilst at the day school, or before that time, I acted cruelly, for I beat a puppy, I believe, simply from enjoying the sense of power; but the beating could not have been severe, for the puppy did not howl, of which I feel sure, as the spot was near the house. This act lay heavily on my conscience, as is shown by my remembering the exact spot where the crime was committed. It probably lay all the heavier from my love of dogs being then, and for a long time afterwards, a passion. Dogs seemed to know this, for I was an adept in robbing their love from their masters.

I remember clearly only one other incident during this year whilst at Mr. Case's daily school,—namely, the burial of a dragoon soldier; and it is surprising how clearly I can still see the horse with the man's empty boots and carbine suspended to the saddle, and the firing over the grave. This scene deeply stirred whatever poetic fancy there was in me.

\* The house of his uncle, Josiah Wedgwood.



In the summer of 1818 I went to Dr. Butler's great school in Shrewsbury, and remained there for seven years till midsummer 1825, when I was sixteen years old. I boarded at this school, so that I had the great advantage of living the life of a true school boy; but, as the distance was hardly more than a mile to my home, I very often ran there in the longer intervals between the callings over and before locking up at night. This, I think, was in many ways advantageous to me by keeping up home affections and interests. I remember in the early part of my school life that I often had to run very quickly to be in time, and from being a fleet runner was generally successful; but when in doubt I prayed earnestly to God to help me, and I well remember that I attributed my success to the prayers and not to my quick running, and marvelled how generally I was aided.

I have heard my father and elder sister say that I had, as a very young boy, a strong taste for long solitary walks; but what I thought about I know not. I often became quite absorbed, and once, whilst returning to school on the summit of the old fortifications round Shrewsbury, which had been converted into a public foot-path with no parapet on one side, I walked off and fell to the ground, but the height was only seven or eight feet. Nevertheless, the number of thoughts which passed through my mind during this very short, but sudden and wholly unexpected fall, was astonishing, and seems hardly compatible with what physiologists have, I believe, proved about each thought requiring quite an appreciable amount of time.

Nothing could have been worse for the development of my mind than Dr. Butler's school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught, except a little ancient geography and history. The school as a means of education to me was simply a blank. During my whole life I have been singularly incapable of mastering any language. Especial attention was paid to verse-making, and this I could never do well. I had many friends, and got together a good collection of old verses, which, by patching together, sometimes aided by other boys, I could work into any subject. Much attention was paid to learning by heart the lessons of the previous day; this I could effect with great facility, learning forty or fifty lines of Virgil or Homer whilst I was in morning chapel; but this exercise was utterly useless, for every verse was forgotten in forty-eight hours. I was not idle, and with the exception of versification, generally worked conscientiously at my classics, not using cribs. The sole pleasure I ever

received from such studies was from some of the odes of Horace, which I admired greatly.

When I left the school, I was for my age neither high nor low in it; and I believe that I was considered by all my masters and by my father as a very ordinary boy, rather below the common standard in intellect. To my deep mortification my father once said to me, "You care for nothing but shooting, dogs, and rat-catching, and you will be a disgrace to yourself and all your family." But my father, who was the kindest man I ever knew and whose memory I love with all my heart, must have been angry and somewhat unjust when he used such words.

Looking back as well as I can at my character during my school life, the only qualities which at this period promised well for the future were that I had strong and diversified tastes, much zeal for whatever interested me, and a keen pleasure in understanding any complex subject or thing. I was taught Euclid by a private tutor, and I distinctly remember the intense satisfaction which the clear geometrical proofs gave me. I remember, with equal distinctness, the delight which my uncle gave me (the father of Francis Galton) by explaining the principle of the vernier of a barometer. With respect to diversified tastes, independently of science, I was fond of reading various books, and I used to sit for hours reading the historical plays of Shakespeare, generally in an old window in the thick walls of the school. I read also other poetry, such as Thomson's "Seasons," and the recently published poems of Byron and Scott. I mention this because later in life I wholly lost, to my great regret, all pleasure from poetry of any kind, including Shakespeare. In connection with pleasure from poetry, I may add that in 1822 a vivid delight in scenery was first awakened in my mind, during a riding tour on the borders of Wales, and this has lasted longer than any other æsthetic pleasure.

Early in my school-days a boy had a copy of the "Wonders of the World," which I often read, and disputed with other boys about the veracity of some of the statements; and I believe that this book first gave me a wish to travel in remote countries, which was ultimately fulfilled by the voyage of the *Beagle*. In the latter part of my school life I became passionately fond of shooting; I do not believe that any one could have shown more zeal for the most holy cause than I did for shooting birds. How well I remember killing my first snipe, and my excitement was so great that I had much difficulty in reloading my gun from the trembling

of my hands. This taste long continued, and I became a very good shot. When at Cambridge, I used to practise throwing up my gun to my shoulder before a looking-glass to see that I threw it up straight. Another and better plan was to get a friend to wave about a lighted candle, and then to fire at it with a cap on the nipple, and, if the aim was accurate, the little puff of air would blow out the candle. The explosion of the cap caused a sharp crack, and I was told that the tutor of the college remarked, "What an extraordinary thing it is, Mr. Darwin seems to spend hours in cracking a horse-whip in his room, for I often hear the crack when I pass under his windows."

I had many friends amongst the school-boys, whom I loved dearly, and I think that my disposition was then very affectionate.

With respect to science, I continued collecting minerals with much zeal, but quite unscientifically,—all that I cared about was a new-named mineral, and I hardly attempted to classify them. I must have observed insects with some little care, for, when ten years old (1819) I went for three weeks to Plas Edwards on the sea-coast in Wales, I was very much interested and surprised at seeing a large black and scarlet Hemipterous insect, many moths (*Zygæna*), and a *Cicindela* which are not found in Shropshire. I almost made up my mind to begin collecting all the insects which I could find dead, for on consulting my sister I concluded that it was not right to kill insects for the sake of making a collection. From reading White's "Selborne," I took much pleasure in watching the habits of birds, and even made notes on the subject. In my simplicity I remember wondering why every gentleman did not become an ornithologist.

Towards the close of my school life my brother worked hard at chemistry, and made a fair laboratory with proper apparatus in the tool-house in the garden, and I was allowed to aid him as a servant in most of his experiments. He made all the gases and many compounds, and I read with great care several books on chemistry, such as Henry and Parkes' "Chemical Catechism." The subject interested me greatly, and we often used to go on working till rather late at night. This was the best part of my education at school, for it showed me practically the meaning of experimental science. The fact that we worked at chemistry somehow got known at school, and, as it was an unprecedented fact, I was nicknamed "Gas." I was also once publicly rebuked by the head-master, Dr. Butler, for thus wasting my time on such useless subjects; and he called me very unjustly a "poco



curante," and, as I did not understand what he meant, it seemed to me a fearful reproach.

As I was doing no good at school, my father wisely took me away at a rather earlier age than usual, and sent me (October, 1825) to Edinburgh University with my brother, where I stayed for two years or sessions. My brother was completing his medical studies, though I do not believe he ever really intended to practise, and I was sent there to commence them. But soon after this period I became convinced, from various small circumstances, that my father would leave me property enough to subsist on with some comfort, though I never imagined that I should be so rich a man as I am; but my belief was sufficient to check any strenuous efforts to learn medicine.

The instruction at Edinburgh was altogether by lectures, and these were intolerably dull, with the exception of those on chemistry by Hope; but to my mind there are no advantages and many disadvantages in lectures compared with reading. Dr. Duncan's lectures on *Materia Medica* at 8 o'clock on a winter's morning are something fearful to remember. Dr. — made his lectures on human anatomy as dull as he was himself, and the subject disgusted me. It has proved one of the greatest evils in my life that I was not urged to practise dissection, for I should soon have got over my disgust, and the practice would have been invaluable for all my future work. This has been an irremediable evil, as well as my incapacity to draw. I also attended regularly the clinical wards in the hospital. Some of the cases distressed me a good deal, and I still have vivid pictures before me of some of them; but I was not so foolish as to allow this to lessen my attendance. I cannot understand why this part of my medical course did not interest me in a greater degree; for during the summer before coming to Edinburgh I began attending some of the poor people, chiefly children and women in Shrewsbury. I wrote down as full an account as I could of the case, with all the symptoms, and read them aloud to my father, who suggested further inquiries and advised me what medicines to give, which I made up myself. At one time I had at least a dozen patients, and I felt a keen interest in the work. My father, who was by far the best judge of character whom I ever knew, declared that I should make a successful physician,—meaning by this one who would get many patients. He maintained that the chief element of success was exciting confidence; but what he saw in me which convinced him that I should create

confidence I know not. I also attended on two occasions the operating theatre in the hospital at Edinburgh, and saw two very bad operations, one on a child, but I rushed away before they were completed. Nor did I ever attend again, for hardly any inducement would have been strong enough to make me do so, this being long before the blessed days of chloroform. The two cases fairly haunted me for many a long year.

My brother stayed only one year at the University, so that during the second year I was left to my own resources; and this was an advantage, for I became well acquainted with several young men fond of natural science. One of these was Ainsworth, who afterwards published his travels in Assyria. He was a Wernerian geologist, and knew a little about many subjects. Dr. Coldstream was a very different young man, prim, formal, highly religious, and most kind-hearted. He afterwards published some good zoölogical articles. A third young man was Hardie, who would, I think, have made a good botanist, but died early in India. Lastly, Dr. Grant, my senior by several years, but how I became acquainted with him I cannot remember: he published some first-rate zoölogical papers, but, after coming to London as Professor in University College, he did nothing more in science,—a fact which has always been inexplicable to me. I knew him well: he was dry and formal in manner, with much enthusiasm beneath this outer crust. He one day, when we were walking together, burst forth in high admiration of Lamarck and his views on evolution. I listened in silent astonishment, and, as far as I can judge, without any effect on my mind. I had previously read the “*Zoönomia*” of my grandfather, in which similar views are maintained, but without producing any effect on me. Nevertheless, it is probable that the hearing rather early in life such views maintained and praised may have favored my upholding them under a different form in my “*Origin of Species*.” At this time I admired greatly the “*Zoönomia*”; but on reading it a second time after an interval of ten or fifteen years I was much disappointed, the proportion of speculation being so large to the facts given.

Drs. Grant and Coldstream attended much to marine Zoölogy, and I often accompanied the former to collect animals in the tidal pools, which I dissected as well as I could. I also became friends with some of the Newhaven fishermen, and sometimes accompanied them when they trawled for oysters, and thus got many specimens. But from not having had any regular practice

in dissection, and from possessing only a wretched microscope, my attempts were very poor. Nevertheless, I made one interesting little discovery, and read, about the beginning of the year 1826, a short paper on the subject before the Plinian Society. This was that the so-called ova of *Flustra* had the power of independent movement by means of cilia, and were in fact larvæ. In another short paper I showed that the little globular bodies which had been supposed to be the young state of *Fucus loreus* were the egg-cases of the wormlike *Pontobdella muricata*.

The Plinian Society was encouraged and, I believe, founded by Professor Jameson: it consisted of students and met in an underground room in the University for the sake of reading papers on natural science and discussing them. I used regularly to attend, and the meetings had a good effect on me in stimulating my zeal and giving me new congenial acquaintances. One evening a poor young man got up, and, after stammering for a prodigious length of time, blushing crimson, he at last slowly got out the words, "Mr. President, I have forgotten what I was going to say." The poor fellow looked quite overwhelmed, and all the members were so surprised that no one could think of a word to say to cover his confusion. The papers which were read to our little society were not printed, so that I had not the satisfaction of seeing my paper in print; but I believe Dr. Grant noticed my small discovery in his excellent memoir on *Flustra*.

I was also a member of the Royal Medical Society, and attended pretty regularly; but, as the subjects were exclusively medical, I did not much care about them. Much rubbish was talked there, but there were some good speakers, of whom the best was the present Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth. Dr. Grant took me occasionally to the meetings of the Wernerian Society, where various papers on natural history were read, discussed, and afterwards published in the "Transactions." I heard Audubon deliver there some interesting discourses on the habits of North American birds, sneering somewhat unjustly at Waterton. By the way, a negro lived in Edinburgh, who had travelled with Waterton, and gained his livelihood by stuffing birds, which he did excellently: he gave me lessons for payment, and I used often to sit with him, for he was a very pleasant and intelligent man.

Mr. Leonard Horner also took me once to a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, where I saw Sir Walter Scott in the chair as President, and he apologized to the meeting as not feeling fitted for such a position. I looked at him and at the whole



scene with some awe and reverence, and I think it was owing to this visit during my youth, and to my having attended the Royal Medical Society, that I felt the honor of being elected a few years ago an honorary member of both these societies, more than any other similar honor. If I had been told at that time that I should one day have been thus honored, I declare that I should have thought it as ridiculous and improbable as if I had been told that I should be elected King of England.

During my second year at Edinburgh I attended ——'s lectures on Geology and Zoölogy, but they were incredibly dull. The sole effect they produced on me was the determination never, as long as I lived, to read a book on geology, or in any way to study the science. Yet I feel sure that I was prepared for a philosophical treatment of the subject; for an old Mr. Cotton in Shropshire, who knew a good deal about rocks, had pointed out to me two or three years previously a well-known large erratic boulder in the town of Shrewsbury, called the "bell-stone": he told me that there was no rock of the same kind nearer than Cumberland or Scotland, and he solemnly assured me that the world would come to an end before any one would be able to explain how this stone came where it now lay. This produced a deep impression on me, and I meditated over this wonderful stone. So that I felt the keenest delight when I first read of the action of icebergs in transporting boulders, and I gloried in the progress of Geology. Equally striking is the fact that I, though now only sixty-seven years old, heard the Professor, in a field lecture at Salisbury Craigs, discoursing on a trap-dyke, with amygdaloidal margins and the strata indurated on each side, with volcanic rocks all around us, say that it was a fissure filled with sediment from above, adding with a sneer that there were men who maintained that it had been injected from beneath in a molten condition. When I think of this lecture, I do not wonder that I determined never to attend to Geology.

From attending ——'s lectures, I became acquainted with the curator of the museum, Mr. Macgillivray, who afterwards published a large and excellent book on the birds of Scotland. I had much interesting natural-history talk with him, and he was very kind to me. He gave me some rare shells, for I at that time collected marine mollusck, but with no great zeal.

My summer vacations during these two years were wholly given up to amusements, though I always had some book in hand, which I read with interest. During the summer of 1826

I took a long walking tour with two friends, with knapsacks on our backs, through North Wales. We walked thirty miles most days, including one day the ascent of Snowdon. I also went with my sister a riding tour in North Wales, a servant with saddlebags carrying our clothes. The autumns were devoted to shooting, chiefly at Mr. Owen's, at Woodhouse, and at my Uncle Jos's,\* at Maer. My zeal was so great that I used to place my shooting-boots open by my bedside when I went to bed, so as not to lose half a minute in putting them on in the morning; and on one occasion I reached a distant part of the Maer estate, on the 20th of August, for black-game shooting, before I could see: I then toiled on with the game-keeper the whole day through thick heath and young Scotch firs.

I kept an exact record of every bird which I shot throughout the whole season. One day when shooting at Woodhouse with Captain Owen, the eldest son, and Major Hill, his cousin, afterwards Lord Berwick, both of whom I liked very much, I thought myself shamefully used, for every time after I had fired and thought that I had killed a bird, one of the two acted as if loading his gun, and cried out, "You must not count that bird, for I fired at the same time," and the game-keeper, perceiving the joke, backed them up. After some hours they told me of the joke, but it was no joke to me, for I had shot a large number of birds, but did not know how many, and could not add them to my list, which I used to do by making a knot in a piece of string tied to a button-hole. This my wicked friends had perceived.

How I did enjoy shooting! but I think that I must have been half-consciously ashamed of my zeal, for I tried to persuade myself that shooting was almost an intellectual employment: it required so much skill to judge where to find most game and to hunt the dogs well.

One of my autumnal visits to Maer in 1827 was memorable from meeting there Sir J. Mackintosh, who was the best converser I ever listened to. I heard afterwards with a glow of pride that he had said, "There is something in that young man that interests me." This must have been chiefly due to his perceiving that I listened with much interest to everything which he said, for I was as ignorant as a pig about his subjects of history, politics, and moral philosophy. To hear of praise from an eminent person, though no doubt apt or certain to excite vanity, is, I think, good for a young man, as it helps to keep him in the right course.

\* Josiah Wedgwood, the son of the founder of the Etruria Works.

My visits to Maer during these two or three succeeding years were quite delightful, independently of the autumnal shooting. Life there was perfectly free; the country was very pleasant for walking or riding; and in the evening there was much very agreeable conversation, not so personal as it generally is in large family parties, together with music. In the summer the whole family used often to sit on the steps of the old portico, with the flower-garden in front, and with the steep wooded bank opposite the house reflected in the lake, with here and there a fish rising or a water-bird paddling about. Nothing has left a more vivid picture on my mind than these evenings at Maer. I was also attached to and greatly revered my Uncle Jos; he was silent and reserved, so as to be a rather awful man; but he sometimes talked openly with me. He was the very type of an upright man, with the clearest judgment. I do not believe that any power on earth could have made him swerve an inch from what he considered the right course. I used to apply to him in my mind the well-known ode of Horace, now forgotten by me, in which the words "nec vultus tyranni," etc.,\* come in.

*Cambridge, 1828-1831.*—After having spent two sessions in Edinburgh, my father perceived, or he heard from my sisters, that I did not like the thought of being a physician, so he proposed that I should become a clergyman. He was very properly vehement against my turning into an idle sporting man, which then seemed my probable destination. I asked for some time to consider, as from what little I had heard or thought on the subject I had scruples about declaring my belief in all the dogmas of the Church of England; though otherwise I liked the thought of being a country clergyman. Accordingly, I read with care "Pearson on the Creeds," and a few other books on divinity; and as I did not then in the least doubt the strict and literal truth of every word in the Bible, I soon persuaded myself that our Creed must be fully accepted.

Considering how fiercely I have been attacked by the orthodox, it seems ludicrous that I once intended to be a clergyman. Nor was this intention and my father's wish ever formally given up, but died a natural death when, on leaving Cambridge, I joined the *Beagle* as naturalist. If the phrenologists are to be trusted, I was well fitted in one respect to be a clergyman. A few years

\* *Iustum et tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solidè.*



ago the secretaries of a German psychological society asked me earnestly by letter for a photograph of myself; and some time afterwards I received the proceedings of one of the meetings, in which it seemed that the shape of my head had been the subject of a public discussion, and one of the speakers declared that I had the bump of reverence developed enough for ten priests.

As it was decided that I should be a clergyman, it was necessary that I should go to one of the English universities and take a degree; but, as I had never opened a classical book since leaving school, I found, to my dismay, that in the two intervening years I had actually forgotten, incredible as it may appear, almost everything which I had learnt, even to some few of the Greek letters. I did not, therefore, proceed to Cambridge at the usual time in October, but worked with a private tutor in Shrewsbury, and went to Cambridge after the Christmas vacation, early in 1828. I soon recovered my school standard of knowledge, and could translate easy Greek books, such as Homer and the Greek Testament, with moderate facility.

During the three years which I spent at Cambridge my time was wasted, as far as the academical studies were concerned, as completely as at Edinburgh and at school. I attended mathematics, and even went during the summer of 1828 with a private tutor (a very dull man) to Barmouth, but I got on very slowly. The work was repugnant to me, chiefly from my not being able to see any meaning in the early steps in algebra. This impatience was very foolish, and in after years I have deeply regretted that I did not proceed far enough at least to understand something of the great leading principles of mathematics, for men thus endowed seem to have an extra sense. But I do not believe that I should ever have succeeded beyond a very low grade. With respect to classics I did nothing except attend a few compulsory college lectures, and the attendance was almost nominal. In my second year I had to work for a month or two to pass the Little-Go, which I did easily. Again, in my last year I worked with some earnestness for my final degree of B.A., and brushed up my classics, together with a little algebra and Euclid, which latter gave me much pleasure, as it did at school. In order to pass the B.A. examination, it was also necessary to get up Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," and his "Moral Philosophy." This was done in a thorough manner, and I am convinced that I could have written out the whole of the "Evidences" with perfect correctness, but not of course in the clear language of Paley.

The logic of this book, and, as I may add, of his "Natural Theology," gave me as much delight as did Euclid. The careful study of these works, without attempting to learn any part by rote, was the only part of the academical course which, as I then felt and as I still believe, was of the least use to me in the education of my mind. I did not at that time trouble myself about Paley's premises; and, taking these on trust, I was charmed and convinced by the long line of argumentation. By answering well the examination questions in Paley, by doing Euclid well, and by not failing miserably in Classics, I gained a good place among the *οἱ πολλοὶ* or crowd of men who do not go in for honors. Oddly enough, I cannot remember how high I stood, and my memory fluctuates between the fifth, tenth, or twelfth, name on the list.\*

Public lectures on several branches were given in the University, attendance being quite voluntary; but I was so sickened with lectures at Edinburgh that I did not even attend Sedgwick's eloquent and interesting lectures. Had I done so, I should probably have become a geologist earlier than I did. I attended, however, Henslow's lectures on Botany, and liked them much for their extreme clearness and the admirable illustrations; but I did not study botany. Henslow used to take his pupils, including several of the older members of the University, field excursions, on foot or in coaches, to distant places, or in a barge down the river, and lectured on the rarer plants and animals which were observed. These excursions were delightful.

Although, as we shall presently see, there were some redeeming features in my life at Cambridge, my time was sadly wasted there, and worse than wasted. From my passion for shooting and for hunting, and, when this failed, for riding across country, I got into a sporting set, including some dissipated low-minded young men. We used often to dine together in the evening, though these dinners often included men of a higher stamp, and we sometimes drank too much, with jolly singing and playing at cards afterwards. I know that I ought to feel ashamed of days and evenings thus spent, but as some of my friends were very pleasant, and we were all in the highest spirits, I cannot help looking back to these times with much pleasure.

But I am glad to think that I had many other friends of a widely different nature. I was very intimate with Whitley,†

\* Tenth in the list of January, 1831.

† Rev. C. Whitley, Hon. Canon of Durham, formerly Reader in Natural Philosophy in Durham University.

who was afterwards Senior Wrangler, and we used continually to take long walks together. He inoculated me with a taste for pictures and good engravings, of which I bought some. I frequently went to the Fitzwilliam Gallery, and my taste must have been fairly good, for I certainly admired the best pictures, which I discussed with the old curator. I read also, with much interest, Sir Joshua Reynolds' book. This taste, though not natural to me, lasted for several years, and many of the pictures in the National Gallery in London gave me much pleasure; that of Sebastian del Piombo exciting in me a sense of sublimity.

I also got into a musical set, I believe by means of my warm-hearted friend, Herbert,\* who took a high wrangler's degree. From associating with these men, and hearing them play, I acquired a strong taste for music, and used very often to time my walks so as to hear on week-days the anthem in King's College Chapel. This gave me intense pleasure, so that my backbone would sometimes shiver. I am sure that there was no affectation or mere imitation in this taste, for I used generally to go by myself to King's College, and I sometimes hired the chorister boys to sing in my rooms. Nevertheless, I am so utterly destitute of an ear that I cannot perceive a discord, or keep time and hum a tune correctly, and it is a mystery how I could possibly have derived pleasure from music.

My musical friends soon perceived my state, and sometimes amused themselves by making me pass an examination, which consisted in ascertaining how many tunes I could recognize when they were played rather more quickly or slowly than usual. "God save the King," when thus played, was a sore puzzle. There was another man with almost as bad an ear as I had, and, strange to say, he played a little on the flute. Once I had the triumph of beating him in one of our musical examinations.

But no pursuit at Cambridge was followed with nearly so much eagerness or gave me so much pleasure as collecting beetles. It was the mere passion for collecting, for I did not dissect them, and rarely compared their external characters with published descriptions, but got them named anyhow. I will give a proof of my zeal: one day, on tearing off some old bark, I saw two rare beetles, and seized one in each hand; then I saw a third and new kind, which I could not bear to lose, so that I popped the one which I held in my right hand into my mouth. Alas,

\* The late John Maurice Herbert, County Court Judge of Cardiff and the Monmouth Circuit.



it ejected some intensely acrid fluid, which burnt my tongue so that I was forced to spit the beetle out, which was lost, as was the third one.

I was very successful in collecting, and invented two new methods. I employed a laborer to scrape, during the winter, moss off old trees and place it in a large bag, and likewise to collect the rubbish at the bottom of the barges in which reeds are brought from the fens, and thus I got some very rare species. No poet ever felt more delighted at seeing his first poem published than I did at seeing, in Stephens' "Illustrations of British Insects," the magic words, "captured by C. Darwin, Esq." I was introduced to etymology by my second cousin, W. Darwin Fox, a clever and most pleasant man, who was then at Christ's College, and with whom I became extremely intimate. Afterwards I became well acquainted, and went out collecting, with Albert Way, of Trinity, who in after years became a well-known archæologist; also with H. Thompson of the same college, afterwards a leading agriculturist, chairman of a great railway, and Member of Parliament. It seems, therefore, that a taste for collecting beetles is some indication of future success in life!

I am surprised what an indelible impression many of the beetles which I caught at Cambridge have left on my mind. I can remember the exact appearance of certain posts, old trees, and banks where I made a good capture. The pretty *Panagæus crux-major* was a treasure in those days, and here at Down I saw a beetle running across a walk, and on picking it up instantly perceived that it differed slightly from *P. crux-major*, and it turned out to be *P. quadripunctatus*, which is only a variety or closely allied species, differing from it very slightly in outline. I had never seen in those old days *Licinus* alive, which to an uneducated eye hardly differs from many of the black *Carabidous* beetles; but my sons found here a specimen, and I instantly recognized that it was new to me, yet I had not looked at a British beetle for the last twenty years.

I have not as yet mentioned a circumstance which influenced my whole career more than any other. This was my friendship with Professor Henslow. Before coming up to Cambridge, I had heard of him from my brother as a man who knew every branch of science, and I was accordingly prepared to reverence him. He kept open house once every week, when all undergraduates, and some older members of the University, who were attached to science, used to meet in the evening. I soon got, through Fox,

an invitation, and went there regularly. Before long I became well acquainted with Henslow, and during the latter half of my time at Cambridge took long walks with him on most days, so that I was called by some of the dons "the man who walks with Henslow"; and in the evening I was very often asked to join his family dinner. His knowledge was great in botany, entomology, chemistry, mineralogy, and geology. His strongest taste was to draw conclusions from long-continued minute observations. His judgment was excellent, and his whole mind well balanced; but I do not suppose that any one would say that he possessed much original genius. He was deeply religious, and so orthodox that he told me one day he should be grieved if a single word of the Thirty-nine Articles were altered. His moral qualities were in every way admirable. He was free from every tinge of vanity or other petty feeling, and I never saw a man who thought so little about himself or his own concerns. His temper was imperturbably good, with the most winning and courteous manners; yet, as I have seen, he could be roused by any bad action to the warmest indignation and prompt action.

I once saw in his company in the streets of Cambridge almost as horrid a scene as could have been witnessed during the French Revolution. Two body-snatchers had been arrested, and whilst being taken to prison had been torn from the constable by a crowd of the roughest men, who dragged them by their legs along the muddy and stony road. They were covered from head to foot with mud, and their faces were bleeding either from having been kicked or from the stones. They looked like corpses, but the crowd was so dense that I got only a few momentary glimpses of the wretched creatures. Never in my life have I seen such wrath painted on man's face as was shown by Henslow at this horrid scene. He tried repeatedly to penetrate the mob; but it was simply impossible. He then rushed away to the mayor, telling me not to follow him, but to get more policemen. I forget the issue, except that the two men were got into the prison without being killed.

Henslow's benevolence was unbounded, as he proved by his many excellent schemes for his poor parishioners, when in after years he held the living of Hitcham. My intimacy with such a man ought to have been, and I hope was, an inestimable benefit. I cannot resist mentioning a trifling incident, which showed his kind consideration. Whilst examining some pollen-grains on a

damp surface, I saw the tubes exerted, and instantly rushed off to communicate my surprising discovery to him. Now I do not suppose any other professor of botany could have helped laughing at my coming in such a hurry to make such a communication. But he agreed how interesting the phenomenon was, and explained its meaning, but made me clearly understand how well it was known. So I left him not in the least mortified, but well pleased at having discovered for myself so remarkable a fact, but determined not to be in such a hurry again to communicate my discoveries.

Dr. Whewell was one of the older and distinguished men who sometimes visited Henslow, and on several occasions I walked home with him at night. Next to Sir J. Mackintosh he was the best converser on grave subjects to whom I ever listened. Leonard Jenyns,\* who afterwards published some good essays in Natural History,† often stayed with Henslow, who was his brother-in-law. I visited him at his parsonage on the borders of the Fens [Swaffham Bulbeck], and had many a good walk and talk with him about natural history. I became also acquainted with several other men older than me, who did not care much about science, but were friends of Henslow. One was a Scotchman, brother of Sir Alexander Ramsay, and tutor of Jesus College: he was a delightful man, but did not live for many years. Another was Mr. Dawes, afterwards Dean of Hereford, and famous for his success in the education of the poor. These men and others of the same standing, together with Henslow, used sometimes to take distant excursions into the country, which I was allowed to join, and they were most agreeable.

Looking back, I infer that there must have been something in me a little superior to the common run of youths, otherwise the above-mentioned men, so much older than me and higher in academical position, would never have allowed me to associate with them. Certainly I was not aware of any such superiority, and I remember one of my sporting friends, Turner, who saw me at work with my beetles, saying that I should some day be a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the notion seemed to me preposterous.

During my last year at Cambridge I read with care and profound interest Humboldt's "Personal Narrative." This work,

\* The well-known Soame Jenyns was cousin to Mr. Jenyns' father.

† Mr. Jenyns (now Blomefield) described the fish for the zoölogy of the *Beagle*, and is author of a long series of papers, chiefly zoölogical.



and Sir J. Herschel's "Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy," stirred up in me a burning zeal to add even the most humble contribution to the noble structure of Natural Science. No one or a dozen other books influenced me nearly so much as these two. I copied out from Humboldt long passages about Teneriffe, and read them aloud on one of the above-mentioned excursions, to (I think) Henslow, Ramsay, and Dawes, for on a previous occasion I had talked about the glories of Teneriffe, and some of the party declared they would endeavor to go there; but I think that they were only half in earnest. I was, however, quite in earnest, and got an introduction to a merchant in London to inquire about ships; but the scheme was, of course, knocked on the head by the voyage of the *Beagle*.

My summer vacations were given up to collecting beetles, to some reading, and short tours. In the autumn my whole time was devoted to shooting, chiefly at Woodhouse and Maer, and sometimes with young Eyton of Eyton. Upon the whole the three years which I spent at Cambridge were the most joyful in my happy life, for I was then in excellent health, and almost always in high spirits.

As I had at first come up to Cambridge at Christmas, I was forced to keep two terms after passing my final examination, at the commencement of 1831; and Henslow then persuaded me to begin the study of geology. Therefore, on my return to Shropshire I examined sections, and colored a map of parts round Shrewsbury. Professor Sedgwick intended to visit North Wales in the beginning of August to pursue his famous geological investigations amongst the older rocks, and Henslow asked him to allow me to accompany him.\* Accordingly, he came and slept at my father's house.

A short conversation with him during this evening produced a strong impression on my mind. Whilst examining an old gravel-pit near Shrewsbury, a laborer told me that he had found in it a large worn tropical Volute shell, such as may be seen on the chimney-pieces of cottages, and, as he would not sell the shell, I was convinced that he had really found it in the pit. I told Sedgwick of the fact, and he at once said (no doubt truly) that it must have been thrown away by some one into the pit; but then added, if really embedded there, it would be the greatest mis-

\* In connection with this tour my father used to tell a story about Sedgwick: they had started from their inn one morning, and had walked a mile or two, when Sedgwick suddenly stopped, and vowed that he would return, being certain "that damned scoundrel" (the waiter) had not given the chambermaid the sixpence intrusted to him for the purpose. He was ultimately persuaded to give up the project, seeing that there was no reason for suspecting the waiter of especial perfidy.—F. D.

fortune to geology, as it would overthrow all that we know about the superficial deposits of the Midland Counties. These gravel-beds belong in fact to the glacial period, and in after-years I found in them broken arctic shells. But I was then utterly astonished at Sedgwick not being delighted at so wonderful a fact as a tropical shell being found near the surface in the middle of England. Nothing before had ever made me thoroughly realize, though I had read various scientific books, that science consists in grouping facts so that general laws or conclusions may be drawn from them.

Next morning we started for Llangollen, Conway, Bangor, and Capel Curig. . . . At Capel Curig I left Sedgwick and went in a straight line by compass and map across the mountains to Barmouth, never following any track unless it coincided with my course. I thus came on some strange wild places, and enjoyed much this manner of travelling. I visited Barmouth to see some Cambridge friends who were reading there, and thence returned to Shrewsbury and to Maer for shooting; for at that time I should have thought myself mad to give up the first days of partridge-shooting for geology or any other science. On returning home from my short geological tour in North Wales, I found a letter from Henslow, informing me that Captain Fitz-Roy was willing to give up part of his own cabin to any young man who would volunteer to go with him without pay as naturalist to the voyage of the *Beagle*. I have given, as I believe, in my MS. Journal an account of all the circumstances which then occurred.

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Charles Robert Darwin was born at Shrewsbury, Feb. 12, 1809, and died at Down in Kent, April 19, 1882. The section from his autobiography reprinted in the present leaflet outlines in a most interesting way the history of his early years and education, up to the time of his joining the scientific expedition of Captain FitzRoy in the "*Beagle*," in 1831, in the capacity of naturalist. The object of the voyage was to extend the survey of South America and "to carry a chain of chronometrical measurements round the world." The voyage lasted five years; and the publication of the results of his observations and studies in connection with the expedition was Darwin's first important scientific work. From that time on his life was crowded with scientific activities, although it was not until 1859 that his epoch-making "*Origin of Species*" appeared. See the careful article, with bibliography, by his son Francis Darwin, in the Dictionary of National Biography; also the *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, by Francis Darwin. The autobiographical fragment of which the first section is here printed occupies the second chapter of the biography; this section is about a third of the whole. "My father's autobiographical recollections," writes the son, "were written for his children, and written without any thought that they would ever be published. The autobiography bears the heading, '*Recollections of the Development of my Mind and Character*,' and ends with the following note: 'Aug. 3, 1876. This sketch of my life was begun about May 28 at Hopedene, and since then I have written for nearly an hour on most afternoons.'"

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## Music in New England.

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST MUSICAL FESTIVAL IN  
BOSTON, MAY 21, 1857.

I am here, ladies and gentlemen, at the request of my friend, Mr. Charles Francis Chickering,—the worthy successor of an honored father in the Presidency of the Handel and Haydn Society,—and by the invitation of the gentlemen associated with him in the government of that Institution,—of which it becomes me to remember most gratefully to-day, that, by their unmerited favor, I have myself enjoyed the privileges of an Honorary Member for nearly twenty years,—to inaugurate the Festival which is now about to commence, by some introductory words of commemoration and of welcome.

I am not unmindful of the difficulty of the service to which I have thus been called. I am deeply sensible how thin and meagre any single, unaccompanied human voice must sound, in this spacious Hall and to this expecting audience, when brought, even by anticipation, into such immediate contrast with the multitudinous choral and instrumental power and grandeur which may be seen arrayed behind me and around me, and which are presently to break upon us in a glorious flood of mingled harmony and light.\*

More than one of the great Masters, whose genius is to be illustrated during the progress of this Festival, have found their highest powers tasked to the utmost, if I mistake not, in prepar-

\* Haydn's Creation, with its sublime opening chorus, "Let there be light," immediately followed the address.



ing an adequate and appropriate Overture, even for a single one of the great compositions to which they have owed their fame; and some of them, I believe, have abandoned the effort altogether. How hopeless, then, is it for me to attempt to say anything, which shall constitute a worthy prelude to all the magnificent Oratorios and Symphonies with which this Hall is now successively to resound! Well, well, may I recall the opening of that memorable musical competition, so forcibly depicted in the celebrated Ode on the Passions:—

“First FEAR his hand, its skill to try,  
Amid the chords bewildered laid,  
And back recoiled, he knew not why,  
E'en at the sound himself had made.”

But I shall hardly succeed in rendering the formidable Solo which I have undertaken, either more easy to myself or more acceptable to others, by indulging too much in the fashionable *tremolo* of the hour; and I turn, therefore, without further preamble or apology, to a simple discharge of the service which I have promised to perform,—not, indeed, altogether without notes, for that would be quite out of keeping with the occasion; but not without a due remembrance, I trust, of the apt and excellent wisdom of the ancient Son of Sirach: “Speak, thou that art the elder, for it becometh thee, but with sound judgment; and hinder not the music. Pour not out words where there is a musician, and show not forth wisdom out of time. Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words.” \*

It has sometimes been made a matter of reproach upon us New Englanders, my friends, that we are too ready to imitate the fashions, and even to ape the follies, of the Old World; and I think we must all admit that there have been periods in our history, when the charge was not altogether without foundation. We come to-day, however, to borrow a leaf out of the book of our brethren of Old England, which we need not be ashamed to copy,—which is eminently worthy of being copied,—and which I trust is destined to be reproduced,—in enlarged and improved editions,—frequently, if not statedly, in the future history of this community.

For many years past,—I know not exactly how many,—the great Musical Festivals of Birmingham and Norwich, of Liver-

\* This intimation was fulfilled, in the delivery of the Address, by the omission of many passages which are included in the printed copy.

pool and Manchester and York, have been among the most cherished and delightful holidays of our mother country. They have done much for the cause of musical improvement, and they have done much, too, for the innocent entertainment and wholesome recreation of the people. The most eminent living composers and performers of Europe have been proud to take a part in them, and the most distinguished lovers and patrons of art have been eager to attend them.

At this very moment, as you know, arrangements are in progress for holding one of them, on a grander scale than ever before, at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; and the presence and patronage of the Queen and Prince Albert—whose musical skill and science, it has been said upon the best authority, would alone have won for them no ordinary distinction, had they been in a condition of life to admit of the full development and public display of such accomplishments—have been promised and accepted for the occasion.

We have no Queenly presence or Princely patronage, my friends, to rely upon, for lending grace or dignity to such an occasion,—though forms and features which would add brilliancy to a diadem are never wanting to our public assemblies,—but we have the fullest confidence that Republican ears are not insensible to “the concord of sweet sounds,” and that Republican hearts are neither closed nor callous to the impression, whether of the softer melodies or the sublimer harmonies of the divine art. And in that confidence we are assembled here to-day to inaugurate the first Musical Festival, which will have been organized and conducted in New England, or, I believe I may say, in all America, after the precise pattern of the great Festivals of Europe,—hailing it as the commencement of a series of Festivals, which may not be less distinguished in future years, perhaps, than those from whose example it has been borrowed,—and welcoming it, especially, as another advance towards that general education of the heart, the tastes, and the affections, of which Heaven knows how much we stand in need, and which is to be carried on and conducted, in no small part at least, through refined and elevated appeals to the eye and to the ear, under the guidance and inspiration of Christian faith and fear and love, by every department of human Art.

The public performance of sacred or of secular Music is, indeed,—I need hardly say,—by no means a new thing, or a thing of recent introduction, in this community. I know not

exactly how early musical entertainments commenced in the old town of Boston. It is not to be doubted that the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, like those of Plymouth, in the beautiful words of Mrs. Hemans, "shook the depths of the desert gloom with their hymns of lofty cheer."

"Amidst the storm they sang,  
And the stars heard, and the sea;  
And the sounding aisles of the dim wood rang  
To the anthem of the Free."

They sang the psalms of David as versified by Sternhold and Hopkins, or by Henry Ainsworth, the eminent Brownist, adapting them sometimes, perhaps, to the tunes arranged by that ancient "Bachelor of Music," Thomas Ravenscroft,—and sometimes, I doubt not, they sang the hymns and songs of simple old George Wither, to the plain and plaintive two-part melodies of Orlando Gibbons. And, by and by, they made a Psalm-book for themselves and published it among the cherished first-fruits of a New England free press.\*

But the Fine Arts, of which Music is eminently one, can find no soil or sky for growth or culture in a new country and amid unsettled institutions. They are at once the fruit and the ornament of peace, civilization, and refinement. We have authentic history for the fact that in 1676 "there were no musicians by trade" on this peninsula. Yet more than a hundred years ago, certainly, the largest hall in the place was known by the name of Concert Hall,—and as early as the second of January, 1775, "a Concert of Music" was advertised there,—"Tickets to be had at the place of performance in Queen Street (now Court Street), at four shillings each." For a long series of years, doubtless, that now venerable hall fulfilled the peculiar purpose which was designated by its name. In casually turning over the columns of the Boston News Letter of a few years' later date, I observed an advertisement of a Grand Concert on the 28th of December, 1769 (which was postponed, however, on account of the weather to the following week), for the benefit of a Mr. Hartley, with a solo on the violin,—probably not quite equal to the one which Ole Bull gave us last week, or one of the brothers Mollenhauer a few weeks ago,—but still "by a gentleman lately arrived." So early did we begin to manifest that indebtedness to foreign

\* Governor Endicott's copy of "Ravenscroft's Psalms" is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society,—where, also, is a copy of Wither's Hymns and Songs, with the autograph of Martha Winthrop, who came over to New England in 1631, and died soon afterwards. The Bay Psalm Book was published in 1640.



musical talent, which no young and industrious country need be ashamed or unwilling to acknowledge, and which we recognize with satisfaction and gratitude, not only in more than one of our most popular and successful professors and instructors, but in so many of the admirable Orchestra and in the skilful Conductor of this occasion.

In the Boston Gazette for 1782, I have met with the advertisements of at least two other Concerts,—both of them given for that best and worthiest of all objects, “the benefit of the Poor”;—one of them at King’s Chapel on the 23d of April, where a Mr. Selby was announced to preside at the organ; the other at Trinity Church, where the organ was played by a Mr. Bellsted,—no match, I venture to say, for the portly Jackson or the accomplished Hayter of later days,—and where the vocal music was performed by an association of singers rejoicing in the name of the Aretinian Society. I have observed a notice, too, of at least one Instrumental Concert, given on the 28th of January, 1783, by the band of the Massachusetts Regiment of Artillery, whose instruments were at length just about to be happily released from the harsh and horrid service of Revolutionary battle-fields, and which may have been the original pioneer of the numerous Military Bands, whose music has given brilliancy to so many of the volunteer parades of succeeding years.

But a more memorable Concert than either of those to which I have alluded, has come down to us on the pages of history—a Concert of Sacred Music—called, at the time, an Oratorio, though in fact somewhat miscellaneous in its character, and given at King’s Chapel on Tuesday, the 27th of October, 1789, on occasion of the visit of George Washington to Boston, as the first President of the United States.

Washington had been received and escorted into the town, by a grand civil and military procession, on Saturday, the 24th of October; and on his reaching the front of the Old State House, and entering the colonnade of that time-honored building (which I wish could be once more restored to its old appearance and to some worthy department of the public service), a select choir of singers, stationed upon a Triumphal Arch erected in the immediate vicinity, with DANIEL REA, the most famous vocalist of Boston in that day, at their head, had welcomed him by the performance of an original Ode, of whose quality a very few lines may, perhaps, afford a sufficient specimen. It commenced as follows:—

“Great Washington the Hero’s come,  
 Each heart exulting hears the sound;  
 Thousands to their deliverer throng,  
 And shout him welcome all around!  
 Now in full chorus join the song,  
 And shout aloud, Great Washington.”

I doubt not that the air and execution of this performance were at least quite equal to the poetry,—though that is not saying much. But the musical talent of our metropolis was not satisfied with a single exhibition of itself in honor of the Father of his Country. A more formal concert of Sacred Music had, indeed, been previously arranged for an earlier day, with a view to raise funds for finishing the portico of the Chapel; but it had been postponed on account of the weather, or for some want of preparation. It was now fixed for the week of Washington’s visit, and the programme is still extant in the papers of that period.

After an original anthem, composed by the organist, Mr. Selby,—for, it seems, that native compositions were not altogether discarded on that occasion,—the beautiful airs of Handel — “Comfort ye my people” and “Let the bright Seraphim”—were to be sung by Mr. Rea; while the Second Part was to consist of a short but entire Oratorio, of which I have seen no account either before or since, founded on the story of Jonah. The choruses were to be performed by the Independent Musical Society, and the instrumental parts by a society of gentlemen, aided by the Band of his Most Christian Majesty’s Fleet, then lying in our harbor.

It seems, however, that owing to the indisposition of several of the best performers,—who were suffering from a prevailing cold which afterwards, I believe, acquired the name of the Washington Influenza,—a portion of this programme was again postponed. But the occasion was still a brilliant and memorable one. The ladies of Boston attended in great numbers,—many of them with sashes bearing “the bald eagle of the Union and the G. W. in conspicuous places,” while the Marchioness of Traversay (the wife of one of the officers of the French fleet) exhibited on this occasion, we are told, the G. W. and the Eagle set in brilliants, on a black velvet ground, on the bandeau of her hat.

Washington himself was of course there, and another original Ode in his honor was performed in the place of some of the omitted pieces; an Ode of which I may confidently venture to give more than a single verse, and which, I am sure, will find a ready echo in all our hearts:—

“Welcome, thrice welcome to the spot,  
 Where once thy conquering banners waved,  
 O never be thy praise forgot,  
 By those thy matchless valor saved.

“Thy glory beams to Eastern skies,  
 See Europe shares the sacred flame,—  
 And hosts of patriot heroes rise,  
 To emulate thy glorious name.

“Labor awhile suspends his toil,  
 His debt of gratitude to pay;  
 And Friendship wears a brighter smile,  
 And music breathes a sweeter lay.

“May health and joy a wreath entwine,  
 And guard thee through this scene of strife,  
 Till Seraphs shall to thee assign  
 A wreath of everlasting life.”

Of all the Oratorios or Concerts which Boston has ever witnessed, I think this is the one we should all have preferred the privilege of attending. Who does not envy our grandfathers and grandmothers the satisfaction of thus uniting—even at the expense of an influenza—in the homage which was so justly paid to the transcendent character and incomparable services of Washington, and of enjoying a personal view of his majestic form and features? It is a fact of no little interest, and not perhaps generally known, that a young German artist of that day, then settled in Boston, by the name of Gullagher, seated himself, under the protection of the Rev. Dr. Belknap, in a pew in the chapel, where he could observe and sketch those features and that form, and that having followed up his opportunities afterwards,—not without the knowledge and sanction of Washington himself,—he completed a portrait which is still in the possession of Dr. Belknap’s family, and which, though it may never be allowed to supersede the likeness which has become classical on the glowing canvas of the gifted Stuart, may still have something of peculiar interest in the musical world, as the Boston Oratorio portrait of Washington.

But I must not detain you longer, my friends, with these historical reminiscences of the music of Boston in its earlier days,—interesting as I am sure they must be to us all. I pass at once, and without a word of comment, over a period of a full quarter of a century. Washington has now completed his two



terms of civil administration, with a brilliancy of success by no means inferior to that which had distinguished his military career. Death has at length set its seal upon the surpassing love in which he was held by the whole American Nation, and he has gone down to a grave, which,—rescued from all danger of desecration by the loyalty of Virginia women and the eloquence of at least one Northern statesman,—is destined to be more and more a place of devout pilgrimage and reverent resort for the friends of civil liberty and free government, from all climes and in all generations. The country, meanwhile, which owed him so inestimable a debt, has gone through with many vicissitudes of condition since his death,—all, as we believe, providentially arranged or permitted to discipline our youthful vigor, and to develop the institutions and consolidate the Union which it had cost so much blood and treasure to establish. A second war with Great Britain has been waged,—sometimes called the second War of Independence,—and now at length the bow of peace and promise is once more seen spanning “the wide arch of our ranged empire.” Beneath its genial radiance we are about to enter upon a period of prosperity and progress such as the world has never before witnessed.

On Christmas Eve, in the year 1814, the Treaty of Peace between England and the United States was signed at Ghent,—a worthy commemoration of that blessed event when the Herald Angels were heard singing to the shepherds on the plains of Bethlehem,—“Peace on earth, good will towards men.” But that Treaty was not known on this side of the ocean for six or seven weeks after its date. The great battle of New Orleans, as you well know, was fought at least two weeks after that Treaty of Peace was signed. Our modern system of railroads and steamers and telegraphs might have saved that effusion of fraternal blood; might have deprived individual heroes,—might have deprived our country and its history—of all the glory which belonged to that really great victory. If that gigantic Ocean Harp, which is at this moment in process of being strung—whose deep diapason is destined to produce a more magical music on the sea than old mythology or modern fable ever ascribed to siren, mermaid, or Arion,—if the mysterious gamut of that profound submarine chord had been in successful operation then, as we hope it soon will be, between St. John’s and Valentia Bay,—those cotton-bag ramparts at New Orleans might never have been celebrated in history; while, of those who so gallantly defended them, many

would not have been laid so low, and some, perhaps, would hardly have risen so high.

The news of Peace, however, at length reached New York on the 11th of February, 1815, and was brought on to Boston by Express, with what was then called unexampled despatch,—in about thirty-two hours. The celebration of the event, under the auspices of the State Legislature which was then in session, and under the immediate direction of our venerable fellow-citizen, JOSIAH QUINCY,—whose always welcome presence we hail with peculiar gratification on this occasion,—as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, took place on the 22d of February following. And never was Washington's birthday more appropriately and nobly celebrated. I have myself a vivid remembrance of the brilliancy and sparkle of the illumination and fireworks in the evening, and my maturer eyes have often sought in vain for their match in all the dazzling demonstrations of later holidays. But the full heart of Boston could find no adequate utterance for itself but in music. Nothing but a "Te Deum Laudamus" could satisfy the emotions of that hour, and the great feature of the occasion was a service of thanksgiving and praise,—without orations or sermons,—in the old Stone Chapel, where, after prayer by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, then the aged and respected pastor of the Second Church, the Duet of "Lovely Peace" was sung by Colonel Webb and Miss Graupner, and a part of the Dettingen Te Deum and the Hallelujah Chorus of Handel were executed by nearly two hundred and fifty vocal and instrumental performers. The newspapers of the day—not yet inured to anything of indiscriminate or venal puffing—pronounce it, by all admission, the very best music ever heard in Boston.

And now, my friends, it can hardly be doubted that the impressive musical services of that Peace Jubilee gave the primary impulse to the establishment of the Association, which is signaling to-day the forty-second year of its active existence by the Festival we are assembled to inaugurate. Its echoes had hardly died away,—four weeks, indeed, had scarcely elapsed since it was held,—before a notice was issued by Gottlieb Graupner, Thomas Smith Webb, and Asa Peabody, for a meeting of those interested in the subject "of cultivating and improving a correct taste in the performance of sacred music." In that meeting, held on the 30th of March, 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society originated. On the 20th of April, their Constitution was adopted, and signed by at least one of the members of the very Board of Directors by

whom I am at this moment surrounded,—the worthy Treasurer of the Society,—Matthew Stanley Parker, Esq.,—whose family name is so honorably associated both with the past history and the future hopes of the music of Boston. The following May-Day witnessed their first private practising from the old Lock Hospital Collection,—and on the succeeding Christmas evening, at the same consecrated Chapel, where Washington attended that memorable Public Concert a quarter of a century before, and where that solemn Jubilee of Peace had been so recently celebrated, their first Grand Oratorio was given, to a delighted audience of nine hundred and forty-five persons, with the Russian Consul, the well-remembered Mr. Eustaphieve, assisting as one of the performers in the Orchestra.

From that day to this, the Handel and Haydn Society has been one of the recognized and cherished institutions of Boston. Their progress is illustrated by the signal improvement which has been witnessed in the musical services of all our churches and in the growing taste and skill which have rendered the singing of sacred music one of the most familiar and delightful recreations of the domestic circle. Their history is written, still more conspicuously, in the records of the nearly five hundred Public Oratorios, besides almost as many less formal concerts, which the Society have performed, and of the numerous civic and religious ceremonials at which they have assisted. To them we have owed one of the most effective and attractive features of not a few of our grandest Anniversary Festivals,—our first centennial celebration of Washington's birthday, and our second centennial celebration of the Birthday of Boston. To them we have owed one of the most grateful and graceful compliments which have been paid to the distinguished guests who from time to time have visited our city,—to Presidents Monroe and Jackson and Tyler, and to Henry Clay,—all of whom have accepted their invitations and attended their Oratorios. By them, too, have been performed the Funeral Dirges for our illustrious dead. It was to their swelling peal that our own Webster alluded at Faneuil Hall, in his magnificent eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, when he said,—“I catch that solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph,—‘their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore.’” And their funeral chant was heard again, when Faneuil Hall was once more shrouded in black, and when that matchless orator was himself the subject of heartfelt lamentation and eulogy. To them we have been indebted



for the first production in our country of not a few of the sublimest compositions of the great Masters of Europe, and to them we have owed the opportunity of hearing the most exquisite and inspiring airs of those compositions, executed by an Incledon or a Phillips, a Horn, a Braham, or a Caradori Allan. I may not attempt to name the more recent vocalists, foreign or domestic, whom they have successively brought forward, and some of whom are here to add brilliancy to the present occasion. Incited by their example, too, other Associations have been organized in our own city and in the neighboring towns, as well as in various other parts of our Commonwealth and country,—the Academy of Music, the Musical Education Society, the Mendelssohn Choral Society, and many others,—which have rendered efficient service in a common cause, and which deserve the grateful remembrance of every lover of harmony.

When this Society was originally instituted, the music of Boston, of New England, and I may say of all America, both sacred and secular, was in a most crude and disorganized condition. Aretinian Societies and Independent Musical Societies had done a little for it, and then died out. Occasional concerts, like those to which I have alluded, may be found scattered at long and dreary intervals along the previous half century. A worthy son of the Old Colony, too, whence so many good things have sprung, had already commenced the publication of "the Bridgewater Collection."\* But there was no systematic and permanent organization for the improvement of musical taste, skill, or science, in any of our large communities; and there was but little of either taste, skill, or science to be improved. I have heard the late JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—an intense lover of music himself, and whose comprehensive acquirements embraced a knowledge of this particular subject which would have been extraordinary in anybody else—tell a story, which may serve as an illustration of the state of American music at that precise period. During the negotiation, at Ghent, of that treaty of peace to which I have just alluded, a Festival or Banquet, or it may have been a Ball, was about to take place, at which it was proposed to pay the customary musical compliment to all the Sovereigns who were either present or represented on the occasion. The sovereign People of the United States,—represented there, as you remember, by Mr. Adams himself, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Clay, Mr. Jonathan Russell, and Mr. Gallatin,—were, of course, not

\* The late Hon. Nahum Mitchell.

to be overlooked; and the Musical Conductor or Band Master of the place called upon these Commissioners to furnish him with our National Air. Our National Air, said they, is Yankee Doodle. Yankee Doodle, said the Conductor, What is that? Where shall I find it? By whom was it composed? Can you supply me with the score? The perplexity of the Commissioners may be better conceived than described. They were fairly at their wit's ends. They had never imagined that they should have *scores* of that sort to settle, and each turned to the other in despair. At last they bethought them, in a happy moment, that there was a colored servant of Mr. Clay's who, like so many of his race, was a first-rate whistler, and who was certain to know Yankee Doodle by heart. He was forthwith sent for accordingly, and the problem was solved without further delay. The Band Master jotted down the air as the colored boy whistled it; and before night, said Mr. Adams, Yankee Doodle was set to so many parts that you would hardly have known it, and it came out the next day in all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of viol and hautboy, of drum, trumpet, and cymbal, to the edification of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe, and to the glorification of the United Sovereigns of America! Whether that boy was bond or free, I know not, but I think both South and North would agree, that he earned his liberty and his citizenship, too, on that occasion.

I would not disparage Yankee Doodle, my friends. It has associations which must always render its simple and homely melody dearer to the hearts of the American people than the most elaborate compositions of ancient or modern science. Should our free institutions ever again be in danger, whether from "malice domestic or foreign levy," that will still be the tune to which American patriotism will keep step. We must always preserve it, and never be ashamed of it; though I do venture to hope that a day may come, when, like England and Austria and Russia,—to name no other lands,—we may have something fit to be entitled a National *Anthem*, which shall combine an acknowledgment of God with the glorious memories of wise and brave men; which shall blend the emotions of piety and patriotism, uniting in sweet accord the praises of the Divine Author of our Freedom and Independence, with those of his chosen and commissioned human instruments, in a strain worthy to commemorate the rise and progress of our Great Republic.

But this little anecdote of what happened at Ghent furnishes no bad illustration, certainly, of the condition of American music



at the precise period when this society first took it in hand and when it might almost be said that Yankee Doodle and the lips of a whistling boy were the prevailing airs and instruments of our land.

What a contrast does this occasion suggest! This noble hall itself,—second to none in the world in its adaptation to the purposes to which it has been dedicated,—the pride of our whole community, and which reflects so much credit on the liberal enterprise and persevering energy of those who were immediately concerned in its erection; what a monument it stands of the musical taste and zeal to which the old Handel and Haydn Society gave the original impulse! For myself, I cannot but feel that a deep debt of gratitude is due to an association, whose performances and whose publications, through a period of more than forty years, under the Presidency of such men as the earlier and the later Webb, of Lowell Mason, of Zeuner and Chickering and Perkins,—have exercised so important an influence in refining and elevating the musical taste of New England; and more especially in improving the character of our sacred music, and affording us an opportunity of enjoying the glorious airs and anthems and choruses which have been composed to the praise and honor of God. And I am glad of an opportunity of testifying my own individual obligation to them.

This is not the occasion, nor am I the person, for any scientific analysis or comparison of styles or of masters. Everything of this sort may be safely left to our excellent music journal and its accomplished editor and contributors. Nor will I venture to detain you with any elaborate periods or swelling common-places about the importance and influence of music in general. The poets, philosophers, and moralists of all ages are full of them. The music of the Church, the Cathedral, and the Camp-meeting; of the Concert-room, the Academy, and the Opera; of the fireside, the serenade, the festival, and the battle-field; the songs of the Troubadours, the psalms of the Covenanters, the hymns of Luther, Wesley, and Watts; Old Hundred, the Cotter's Saturday Night, Elgin, and Dundee; Auld Lang Syne, Home, sweet Home, the Ranz des Vaches, Hail Columbia, God save the King, the Marseillaise, the Red Fox of Erin, which the exquisite songster of Ireland tells us made the patriot Emmet start to his feet and exclaim, "Oh that I were at the head of twenty thousand men, marching to that air!"—why, my friends, what a continued and crowded record does the history of the world's great heart present,



of the noble sympathies which have been stirred, of the heroic impulses which have been awakened, of the devotional fires which have been kindled, of the love to God, and love to man, and love to country,—not always, alas, unattended by excess,—to which animation and utterance have been given, by the magic power of music! To how many individual hearts, too, here and everywhere, has the story of David charming away the gloomy moods of the Jewish Monarch, or, more likely it may be, of Annot Lyle chasing the mists from the spirit of the Highland Chief, seemed only like a transcript of some cherished experience of their own! But I pass over all the science and almost all the sentiment for which the occasion might give opportunity. You are here to enjoy the thing itself, which will be far better than any flights of descriptive rhetoric or rhapsody of which I am capable.

I must be permitted, however, to congratulate you, before closing, that the growing worldliness of the age we live in has not quite yet diverted the divine and solemn harmonies of this glorious art from their original and rightful allegiance. The Fine Arts in every department—Architecture and Sculpture, Painting and Music, alike—have owed their best inspirations and their noblest opportunities to religion. The Bible has always supplied them with their most effective themes. Its matchless diction, its magnificent imagery, its exquisite poetry, its glorious promises, its stupendous miracles, its sublime revelations and realities have constituted an exhaustless magazine of material for them all,—and more especially for Music.

HANDEL, foremost, in merit as in time, among the little company of world-renowned Composers,\*—and whose Statue might well claim no second place in this very Hall, as one of the supporters of that gigantic Organ which we are soon to welcome,—Handel, one of the last touches of whose trembling fingers may haply have rested on the keys of an organ erected just one hundred years ago last August, and still doing most acceptable service, in our own city, which tradition tells us that this favorite musician of George the Second, infirm and blind as he was, selected for His Majesty's Chapel in New England, only two years before his death,—“the giant Handel,” as Pope called him—“the more than Homer of his age,” as Cowper did not scruple to add,—could find no story but that of Redeeming Love, no career or character but that of the Messiah, for the

\* Unless SEBASTIAN BACH, his contemporary, of whose works so many are lost, and so few are familiarly known in this country, may be his equal.

full development and display of his unrivalled power and pathos.

That mysterious demand for a *Requiem* which haunted the sleeping and the waking hours of the dying MOZART—the immediate successor of Handel upon the musical throne—might almost seem,—to a superstitious mind, perhaps,—to have been only, after all, the compunctious visitings of a breast, which was aroused too late to the consciousness of having prostituted so many of its best emotions upon the “foolery of so scandalous a subject” \* as that of Don Giovanni, and which could find no requiem or repose for itself, till it had made that last and grandest effort in the service of God.

When HAYDN—next entitled to the sceptre—was giving an account of his own Oratorio of the Seasons, he is related to have said, “It is not another Creation,—and the reason is this: In that Oratorio the actors are angels; in the four seasons they are but peasants.”

BEETHOVEN,—whom the munificent liberality and consummate skill of kindred spirits in our own land have united in enthroning as the presiding genius of this Hall,—in the wonderful instrumentation of his Symphonies and Sonatas and Quatuors and Trios, seems always aspiring to a strain—and often reaching it, too—which has less of earth in it than of heaven. “I well know,” said he, “that God is nearer me in my Art than others,—I commune with him without fear,—evermore have I acknowledged and understood him.” And when dealing with anything more articulate than the fancied language of the skies, he, too, sought his best inspiration at the Mount of Olives, and found it at least in his Hallelujahs.

MENDELSSOHN’S ominous and insatiate yearning for the spirit-world displayed itself first, indeed, in his Midsummer Night’s Dream; but it was only in depicting the wonderful ways and works of the greatest of Prophets and the greatest of Apostles,—of an Elijah and a St. Paul,—that his genius found its full play and won its noblest triumphs.

I shall not soon forget the emotions with which, just ten years ago, in London, I first listened to the Elijah. I shall not soon forget the person and presence of the young and brilliant Composer, as he stood in Exeter Hall conducting a choir and band of six or seven hundred voices and instruments in the

\* These are the words of Beethoven, who said of Mozart’s great Opera,—“The sacred art ought never to be degraded to the foolery of so scandalous a subject.”

performance of that most impressive Oratorio. Less than six months were to expire—nobody dreamed it then—before he himself was to disappear from these earthly scenes almost as suddenly as the great Prophet whom he was portraying; and one might almost imagine that the first faint glories of the celestial world were gleaming upon his soul,—that he had caught a passing glimpse of those chariots of fire, whose rushing sound and sparkling track were the fit accompaniments of that miraculous translation to the skies,—as he stood trembling with transport at his own magnificent harmonies.

Nor can I fail to call up, in this connection, the image of another most accomplished and distinguished person, in whose company I was privileged to listen to this sublime performance,—the late Lord Ellesmere,—who represented Great Britain so acceptably at the opening of our Crystal Palace in New York, who delighted Boston, too, by his genial eloquence at our School Festival soon afterwards, and whose recent death has occasioned so much of sincere and just regret among the friends of art in all its departments and in both hemispheres.

And now I rejoice that these noble Oratorios of these greatest composers are to form the main feature of this occasion. I rejoice that, at this first New England Musical Festival, the divine Art is so distinctly to recognize its rightful relation to Divinity, as the privileged handmaid of Religion. Without feeling called upon to pronounce any opinion upon other amusements and festivals for which other voices in other places are pleading, I am glad that this veteran Association of New England, faithful to its first love, true to the key-note of its earliest organization,—at a moment too when so many influences are alluring us away from whatever is pure and lovely and of good report,—has instituted a series of holidays, not only combining morality and innocence with the most refined and elevating enjoyment, but blending so nobly and so worthily the praises of God with the recreation of man.

I do not forget that a severe religious casuistry has sometimes raised a question, how far it is fit to employ sacred themes and sacred words for the mere purpose of entertainment. But it is a great mistake to suppose that mere entertainment is all that is imparted, or all that is intended, by such performances. That man must indeed be “deaf as the dead to harmony,” who can listen to the story of the Creation or of the Redemption, as told in the lofty strains which are presently to be heard here, without



being kindled into a more fervent admiration and adoration of the great Author and Finisher of both. Yes, deaf as the dead to harmony must he have been born, and with a soul sealed up to at least one of the highest sources of inspiration, who feels no glow of grateful awe as the light flashes forth in audible coruscations upon that new-created world, and no thrill of holy joy as the heavens are heard telling the glory of God;—whose belief in the miraculous incarnation of “One mighty to save” is not quickened as the majestic titles by which he was to be called come pealing forth so triumphantly in the very words of prophecy,—“Wonderful,—Counsellor,—the Mighty God”;—who is not conscious of a more vivid faith in the great doctrine of the resurrection, as the sublime declaration of the patient old Patriarch is again and again so exquisitely reiterated,—“I know—I know that my Redeemer liveth”;—and who does not catch a deeper sense of the mystery and the glory of that blessed consummation, when “the Kingdoms of the earth shall become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ,” while the air around him is ringing and reverberating with the ecstasy of those transcendent and exulting Hallelujahs!

No, it is not entertainment alone which this occasion will have communicated to some at least of the souls which shall vibrate to these sublime and solemn strains. I know that the fervors and raptures which result from mere musical susceptibility are no safe substitute for the prayer and praise which belong to the true idea of religious worship, and I am not altogether without sympathy with those who would be glad to see this ancient society returning to its original practice during the first ten or fifteen years of its existence, by giving some of its public performances, as they are now doing, at times when they may be attended and enjoyed by those to whom the domestic circle or the services of the Sanctuary are the chosen and cherished occupations of a Sunday evening. But it will be an evil day for the best interest of mankind, when the noblest and most impressive varieties of music shall be utterly discarded and divorced from the service of religion, and given finally over to the meretricious uses of sensuality or superstition. The sacred Chronicler has told us how it was, under the old dispensation—that it was only “when the singers and the trumpeters were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music and praised the Lord, saying, ‘For he is good;

for his mercy endureth forever,'”—that it was only then, at the outpouring of that grand vocal and instrumental unison of thanksgiving and praise, that the visible glory of the Lord came down, filling and overshadowing the house of God. And though the Gospel does undoubtedly point to a purer and more spiritual worship, yet from that most memorable and solemn hour, of which the simple record runs concerning the Saviour and his disciples,—“And when they had sung an hymn, they went out unto the Mount of Olives,”—from that most memorable and solemn hour, Music has been recognized as a consecrated hand-maid of Christianity; and those which Christ himself has thus joined together, it is not for any man to put asunder.

And may God grant that the performances which are now about to begin, may be endued with a double power over the hearts of all who hear them,—that these resounding anthems may do something to purge and purify the corrupted currents of the air we breathe,—that these lofty enunciations and reiterations of the great truths of the Bible may aid in arresting and driving back the tide of delusion, infidelity, and crime which is raging and swelling so fearfully around us,—and that these Hosannahs and Hallelujahs may combine with the Prayers and Alms of the approaching Anniversary Week, in calling down a fresh blessing on our beloved city and upon us who dwell in it;—so that when at last that hour shall come, which can neither be hastened nor postponed by the idle calculations of learned astrologers, or the idler conjurations of diviners and sorcerers,—when the trumpet of the Archangel shall be heard sounding through the sky and summoning us, in God’s own time, from our destined sleep of death,—our hearts and voices may not be wholly unattuned for uniting with Cherubim and Seraphim and all the Company of Heaven in that sublime Trisagion,—“Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts! heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory!”

It only remains for me, ladies and gentlemen, in behalf of this oldest existing Musical Society of Boston,—older, if I mistake not, than almost any of its kind in London, since the Institution of the Ancient Concerts has passed away with the Iron Duke, one of their principal Directors,—to pronounce the single word of “welcome” to you all. But while offering you this welcome in their name, as I now most respectfully and cordially do, I feel that my duty to-day would be but half performed, if I did not, also, in your name,—and as the self-commissioned organ of the

vast concourse of my fellow-citizens, by whom this noble Hall will day by day be thronged,—if I did not, in your name and in theirs, assure the members of this old pioneer Association, of the sincere and grateful appreciation, which is entertained by our whole community, of their unwearied and honorable efforts in the cause of musical improvement, and of their signal success in giving a worthier and more impressive utterance to the praises of God “in the great congregation.” And may the favor of Heaven, and the patronage of a generous public, never be wanting to their future career!

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Mr. Winthrop refers, in this 1857 address, to his first hearing of Mendelssohn’s “Elijah” in London ten years before, conducted by Mendelssohn himself, who, it is interesting to note, was born in the same year with Mr. Winthrop himself, 1809. He refers to this again in his speech upon “Our Home Music” at the dinner of the Harvard Musical Association, Jan. 26, 1874. “It has happened to me,” he said, “in the course of my life, to have met with not a few fortunate opportunities of hearing the best music. I heard the ‘Elijah’ in London, on the second night of its original performance, with Mendelssohn himself wielding the bâton I saw Verdi conducting the first representation of one of his own operas, on a Queen’s night, at Covent Garden, nearly thirty years ago. I have heard the ‘Israel in Egypt,’ under Costa’s lead, with an orchestra of five hundred, and with a perfectly trained chorus of four thousand voices, and with Mr. Simms Reeves for the solos. I have heard Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony by a hundred picked performers in Vienna,—and we all know what picked performers in Vienna are,—with the ‘Song of Joy’ sung by the artists and chorus of the Vienna opera, in presence of the Emperor and Empress of Austria, on the one hundredth anniversary of Schiller’s birthday.” This speech on “Our Home Music” may be found in Winthrop’s *Addresses and Speeches*, iii. 298. It illustrates, like the more important address printed in the present leaflet, Mr. Winthrop’s deep interest in music; and the latter well illustrates the breadth and variety of his historical knowledge and the peculiar appropriateness and adequacy of his addresses, of which he gave so many, on significant historical or festive occasions.

Mr. Winthrop refers in this address on “Music in New England” to “our excellent music journal and its accomplished editor.” This reference is to John S. Dwight and his “*Journal of Music*,” which stood for all that was best in musical taste and culture in America during its continuance. See the *Life of John S. Dwight*, by George W. Cooke. See Mr. Dwight’s own chapter on “Music in Boston,” in the *Memorial History of Boston*, iv. 415, for a most thorough and critical survey of essentially the same subject treated by Mr. Winthrop in his



address. In Old South Leaflet No. 191 is reprinted a section of Winthrop's Fourth of July oration in Boston, July 4, 1876 (the centennial), and the student is referred to the notes concerning Mr. Winthrop and his work appended to that leaflet.

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No. 196.

# The Reforming of Spelling.

BY NOAH WEBSTER.

AN ESSAY ON THE NECESSITY, ADVANTAGES AND PRACTICABILITY  
OF REFORMING THE MODE OF SPELLING, AND OF RENDERING  
THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF WORDS CORRESPONDENT TO THE  
PRONUNCIATION. 1789.

It has been observed by all writers on the English language, that the orthography or spelling of words is very irregular; the same letters often representing different sounds, and the same sounds often expressed by different letters. For this irregularity, two principal causes may be assigned:

1. The changes to which the pronunciation of a language is liable, from the progress of science and civilization.
2. The mixture of different languages, occasioned by revolutions in England, or by a predilection of the learned, for words of foreign growth and ancient origin.

To the first cause may be ascribed the difference between the spelling and pronunciation of Saxon words. The northern nations of Europe originally spoke much in gutturals. This is evident from the number of aspirates and guttural letters, which still remain in the orthography of words derived from those nations; and from the modern pronunciation of the collateral branches of the Teutonic, the Dutch, Scotch and German. Thus *k* before *n* was once pronounced; as in *knave*, *know*; the *gh* in *might*, *though*, *daughter*, and other similar words; the *g* in *reign*, *feign*, &c.

But as savages proceed in forming languages, they lose the guttural sounds, in some measure, and adopt the use of labials, and the more open vowels. The ease of speaking facilitates this progress, and the pronunciation of words is softened, in pro-

portion to a national refinement of manners. This will account for the difference between the ancient and modern languages of France, Spain and Italy; and for the difference between the soft pronunciation of the present languages of those countries and the more harsh and guttural pronunciation of the northern inhabitants of Europe.

In this progress, the English have lost the sounds of most of the guttural letters. The *k* before *n* in *know*, the *g* in *reign*, and in many other words, are become mute in practice; and the *gh* is softened into the sound of *j*, as in *laugh*, or is silent, as in *brought*.

To this practice of softening the sounds of letters, or wholly suppressing those which are harsh and disagreeable, may be added a popular tendency to abbreviate words of common use. Thus *Southwark*, by a habit of quick pronunciation, is become *Suthark*; *Worcester* and *Leicester* are become *Wooster* and *Lester*; *business*, *bizness*; *colonel*, *curnel*; *cannot*, *will not*, *cant*, *wont*.\* In this manner the final *e* is not heard in many modern words, in which it formerly made a syllable. The words *clothes*, *cares*, and most others of the same kind, were formerly pronounced in two syllables.†

Of the other cause of irregularity in the spelling of our language, I have treated sufficiently in the first Dissertation. It is here necessary only to remark, that when words have been introduced from a foreign language into the English, they have generally retained the orthography of the original, however ill adapted to express the English pronunciation. Thus *fatigue*, *marine*, *chaise*, retain their French dress, while, to represent the true pronunciation in English, they should be spelt *fateeg*, *mareen*, *shaze*. Thus thro an ambition to exhibit the etymology of words, the English, in *Philip*, *physic*, *character*, *chorus*, and other Greek derivatives, preserve the representatives of the original  $\phi$  and  $\chi$ ; yet these words are pronounced, and ought ever to have been spelt, *Fillip*, *fyzsic* or *fizzic*, *karacter*, *korus*.‡

\* *Wont* is strictly a contraction of *woll not*, as the word was anciently pronounced.

† “*Ta-ke, ma-ke, o-ne, bo-ne, sto-ne, wil-le, &c. dissyllaba olim fuerunt, quæ nunc habentur pro monosyllabis.*”—Wallis.

‡ The words *number*, *chamber*, and many others in English are from the French *nombre*, *chambre*, &c. Why was the spelling changed? or rather why is the spelling of *lustre*, *metre*, *theatre*, *not* changed? The cases are precisely similar. The Englishman who first wrote *number* for *nombre*, had no greater authority to make the change than any modern writer has to spell *lustre*, *metre*, in a similar manner, *luster*, *meter*. The change in the first instance was a valuable one; it conformed the spelling to the pronunciation, and I have taken the liberty, in all my writings, to pursue the principle in *luster*, *meter*, *mîter*, *theater*, *sepulcher*, &c.



But such is the state of our language. The pronunciation of the words which are strictly *English*, has been gradually changing for ages, and since the revival of science in Europe, the language has received a vast accession of words from other languages, many of which retain an orthography very ill suited to exhibit the true pronunciation.

The question now occurs: ought the Americans to retain these faults which produce innumerable inconveniences in the acquisition and use of the language, or ought they at once to reform these abuses, and introduce order and regularity into the orthography of the AMERICAN TONGUE?

Let us consider this subject with some attention.

Several attempts were formerly made in England to rectify the orthography of the language.\* But I apprehend their schemes failed of success, rather on account of their intrinsic difficulties than on account of any necessary impracticability of a reform. It was proposed, in most of these schemes, not merely to throw out superfluous and silent letters, but to introduce a number of new characters. Any attempt on such a plan must undoubtedly prove unsuccessful. It is not to be expected that an orthography, perfectly regular and simple, such as would be formed by a "Synod of Grammarians on principles of science," will ever be substituted for that confused mode of spelling which is now established. But it is apprehended that great improvements may be made, and an orthography almost regular, or such as shall obviate most of the present difficulties which occur in learning our language, may be introduced and established with little trouble and opposition.

The principal alterations necessary to render our orthography sufficiently regular and easy, are these:

1. The omission of all superfluous or silent letters; as *a* in *bread*. Thus *bread*, *head*, *give*, *breast*, *built*, *meant*, *realm*, *friend*, would be spelt *bred*, *hed*, *giv*, *breſt*, *bilt*, *ment*, *relm*, *frend*. Would this alteration produce any inconvenience, any embarrassment or expense? By no means. On the other hand, it would lessen the trouble of writing, and much more, of learning the language; it would reduce the true pronunciation to a certainty; and while it would assist foreigners and our own children in acquiring the

\* The first by Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth; another by Dr. Gill, a celebrated master of St. Paul's school in London; another by Mr. Charles Butler, who went so far as to print his book in his proposed orthography; several in the time of Charles the First; and in the present age, Mr. Elphinstone has published a treatise in a very ridiculous orthography.

language, it would render the pronunciation uniform, in different parts of the country, and almost prevent the possibility of changes.

2. A substitution of a character that has a certain definite sound for one that is more vague and indeterminate. Thus by putting *ee* instead of *ea* or *ie*, the words *mean*, *near*, *speak*, *grieve*, *zeal*, would become *meen*, *neer*, *speek*, *greev*, *zeel*. This alteration would not occasion a moment's trouble; at the same time it would prevent a doubt respecting the pronunciation; whereas the *ea* and *ie* having different sounds, may give a learner much difficulty. Thus *greef* should be substituted for *grief*; *kee* for *key*; *beleev* for *believe*; *laf* for *laugh*; *dawter* for *daughter*; *plow* for *plough*; *tuf* for *tough*; *proov* for *prove*; *blud* for *blood*; and *draft* for *draught*. In this manner *ch* in Greek derivatives should be changed into *k*; for the English *ch* has a soft sound, as in *cherish*; but *k* always a hard sound. Therefore *character*, *chorus*, *cholic*, *architecture*, should be written *karacter*, *korus*, *kolic*, *arki-tecture*; and were they thus written, no person could mistake their true pronunciation.

Thus *ch* in French derivatives should be changed into *sh*; *machine*, *chaise*, *chevalier*, should be written *masheen*, *chaze*, *shevaleer*; and *pique*, *tour*, *oblique*, should be written *peek*, *toor*, *obleek*.

3. A trifling alteration in a character or the addition of a point would distinguish different sounds, without the substitution of a new character. Thus a very small stroke across *th* would distinguish its two sounds. A point over a vowel, in this manner, *·ā*, or *·ō*, or *·ī*, might answer all the purposes of different letters. And for the diphthong *ow*, let the two letters be united by a small stroke, or both engraven on the same piece of metal, with the left hand line of the *w* united to the *o*.

These, with a few other inconsiderable alterations, would answer every purpose, and render the orthography sufficiently correct and regular.

The advantages to be derived from these alterations are numerous, great and permanent.

1. The simplicity of the orthography would facilitate the learning of the language. It is now the work of years for children to learn to spell; and after all, the business is rarely accomplished. A few men, who are bred to some business that requires constant exercise in writing, finally learn to spell most words without hesitation; but most people remain, all their lives, imperfect masters of spelling, and liable to make mistakes,

whenever they take up a pen to write a short note. Nay, many people, even of education and fashion, never attempt to write a letter, without frequently consulting a dictionary.

But with the proposed orthography, a child would learn to spell, without trouble, in a very short time, and the orthography being very regular, he would ever afterwards find it difficult to make a mistake. It would, in that case, be as difficult to spell *wrong* as it is now to spell *right*.

Besides this advantage, foreigners would be able to acquire the pronounciation of English, which is now so difficult and embarrassing that they are either wholly discouraged on the first attempt, or obliged, after many years' labor, to rest contented with an imperfect knowledge of the subject.

2. A correct orthography would render the pronounciation of the language as uniform as the spelling in books. A general uniformity thro the United States would be the event of such a reformation as I am here recommending. All persons, of every rank, would speak with some degree of precision and uniformity.\* Such a uniformity in these states is very desirable; it would remove prejudice, and conciliate mutual affection and respect.

3. Such a reform would diminish the number of letters about one sixteenth or eighteenth. This would save a page in eighteen; and a saving of an eighteenth in the expense of books, is an advantage that should not be overlooked.

4. But a capital advantage of this reform in these states would be, that it would make a difference between the English orthography and the American. This will startle those who have not attended to the subject; but I am confident that such an event is an object of vast political consequence. For

The alteration, however small, would encourage the publication of books in our own country. It would render it, in some measure, necessary that all books should be printed in America. The English would never copy our orthography for their own use; and consequently the same impressions of books would not answer for both countries. The inhabitants of the present generation would read the English impressions; but posterity, being taught a different spelling, would prefer the American orthography.

Besides this, a *national language* is a band of *national union*.

\* I once heard Dr. Franklin remark, "that those people spell best, who do not know how to spell"; that is, they spell as their ears dictate, without being guided by rules, and thus fall into a regular orthography.



Every engine should be employed to render the people of this country *national*; to call their attachments home to their own country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character. However they may boast of independence, and the freedom of their government, yet their *opinions* are not sufficiently independent; an astonishing respect for the arts and literature of their parent country, and a blind imitation of its manners, are still prevalent among the Americans. Thus an habitual respect for another country, deserved indeed and once laudable, turns their attention from their own interests, and prevents their respecting themselves.

### OBJECTIONS.

I. "This reform of the Alphabet would oblige people to relearn the language, or it could not be introduced."

But the alterations proposed are so few and so simple that an hour's attention would enable any person to read the new orthography with facility; and a week's practice would render it so familiar that a person would write it without hesitation or mistake. Would this small inconvenience prevent its adoption? Would not the numerous national and literary advantages resulting from the change induce Americans to make so inconsiderable a sacrifice of time and attention? I am persuaded they would.

But it would not be necessary that men advanced beyond the middle stage of life should be at the pains to learn the proposed orthography. They would, without inconvenience, continue to use the present. They would read the *new* orthography, without difficulty; but they would write in the *old*. To men thus advanced, and even to the present generation in general, if they should not wish to trouble themselves with a change, the reformation would be almost a matter of indifference. It would be sufficient that children should be taught the new orthography, and that as fast as they come upon the stage they should be furnished with books in the American spelling. The progress of printing would be proportioned to the demand for books among the rising generation. This progressive introduction of the scheme would be extremely easy; children would learn the proposed orthography more easily than they would the old; and the present generation would not be troubled with the change; so that none but the obstinate and capricious could raise objections or make any opposition. The change would be so inconsiderable and

made on such simple principles that a column in each newspaper printed in the new spelling, would in six months, familiarize most people to the change, show the advantages of it, and imperceptibly remove their objections. The only steps necessary to insure success in the attempt to introduce this reform would be a resolution of Congress, ordering all their acts to be engrossed in the new orthography, and recommending the plan to the several universities in America; and also a resolution of the universities to encourage and support it. The printers would begin the reformation by publishing short paragraphs and small tracts in the new orthography; school books would first be published in the same; curiosity would excite attention to it, and men would be gradually reconciled to the plan.

2. "This change would render our present books useless."

This objection is in some measure answered under the foregoing head. The truth is, it would not have this effect. The difference of orthography would not render books printed in one illegible to persons acquainted only with the other. The difference would not be so great as between the orthography of Chaucer and of the present age; yet Chaucer's works are still read with ease.

3. "This reformation would injure the language by obscuring etymology."

This objection is unfounded. In general, it is not true that the change would obscure etymology; in a few instances it might; but it would rather restore the etymology of many words; and if it were true that the change would obscure it, this would be no objection to the reformation.

It will perhaps surprise my readers to be told that, in many particular words, the modern spelling is less correct than the ancient. Yet this is a truth that reflects dishonor on our modern refiners of the language. Chaucer, four hundred years ago, wrote *bilder* for *builder*; *dedly* for *deadly*; *erdest* for *earnest*; *erly* for *early*; *brest* for *breast*; *hed* for *head*; and certainly his spelling was the most agreeable to the pronunciation.\* Sidney wrote *bin*, *examin*; *sutable*, with perfect propriety. Dr. Middleton wrote *explane*, *genuin*, *revele*, which is the most easy and correct orthography of such words; and also *luster*, *theater*, for *lustre*, *theatre*. In these and many other instances the modern spelling is a corruption; so that allowing many improvements

\* In Chaucer's life, prefixed to the edition of his works 1602, I find *move* and *prove* spelt almost correctly, *moove* and *proove*.

to have been made in orthography, within a century or two, we must acknowledge also that many corruptions have been introduced.

In answer to the objection, that a change of orthography would obscure etymology, I would remark, that the etymology of most words is already lost, even to the learned; and to the unlearned, etymology is never known. Where is the man that can trace back our English words to the elementary radicals? In a few instances, the student has been able to reach the primitive roots of words; but I presume the radicals of one tenth of the words in our language, have never yet been discovered, even by Junius, Skinner, or any other etymologist. Any man may look into Johnson or Ash and find that *flesh* is derived from the Saxon *flece*; *child* from *cild*; *flood* from *flod*; *lad* from *leode*; and *loaf* from *laf* or *hlaƿ*. But this discovery will answer no other purpose than to show, that within a few hundred years the spelling of some words has been a little changed. We should still be at a vast distance from the primitive roots.

In many instances indeed etymology will assist the learned in understanding the composition and true sense of a word; and it throws much light upon the progress of language. But the true sense of a complex term is not always, nor generally, to be learnt from the sense of the primitives or elementary words. The current meaning of a word depends on its use in a nation. This true sense is to be obtained by attending to good authors, to dictionaries and to practice, rather than to derivation. The former *must* be *right*; the latter *may* lead us into *error*.

But to prove of how little consequence a knowledge of etymology is to most people, let me mention a few words. The word *sincere* is derived from the Latin, *sine cera*, without wax; and thus it came to denote *purity of mind*. I am confident that not a man in a thousand ever suspected this to be the origin of the word; yet all men, that have any knowledge of our language, use the word in its true sense, and understand its customary meaning, as well as Junius did, or any other etymologist.

*Yea* or *yes* is derived from the imperative of a verb *avoir* to have, as the word is now spelt. It signifies therefore *have*, or *possess*, or *take* what you ask. But does this explication assist us in using the word? And does not every countryman who labors in the field, understand and use the word with as much precision as the profoundest philosophers?

The word *temper* is derived from an old root, *tem*, which sig-



nified *water*. It was borrowed from the act of *cooling* or moderating heat. Hence the meaning of *temperate*, *temperance*, and all the ramifications of the original stock. But does this help us to the modern current sense of these words? By no means. It leads us to understand the formation of languages, and in what manner an idea of a visible action gives rise to a correspondent abstract idea; or rather, how a word, from a literal and direct sense, may be applied to express a variety of figurative and collateral ideas. Yet the customary sense of the word is known by practice, and as well understood by an illiterate man of tolerable capacity, as by men of science.

The word *always* is compounded of *all* and *ways*; it had originally no reference to time; and the etymology or composition of the word would only lead us into error. The true meaning of words is that which a nation in general annex to them. Etymology therefore is of no use but to the learned; and for them it will still be preserved so far as it is now understood, in dictionaries and other books that treat of this particular subject.

4. "The distinction between words of different meanings and similar sound would be destroyed."

"That distinction," to answer in the words of the great Franklin, "is already destroyed in pronunciation." Does not every man pronounce *all* and *awl* precisely alike? And does the sameness of sound ever lead a hearer into a mistake? Does not the construction render the distinction easy and intelligible, the moment the words of the sentence are heard? Is the word *knew* ever mistaken for *new*, even in the rapidity of pronouncing an animated oration? Was *peace* ever mistaken for *piece*; *pray* for *prey*; *flour* for *flower*? Never, I presume, is this similarity of sound the occasion of mistakes.

If therefore an identity of *sound*, even in rapid speaking, produces no inconvenience, how much less would an identity of *spelling*, when the eye would have leisure to survey the construction? But experience, the criterion of truth, which has removed the objection in the first case, will also assist us in forming our opinion in the last.

There are many words in our language which, with the *same orthography*, have *two* or more *distinct meanings*. The word *wind*, whether it signifies *to move round*, or *air in motion*, has the *same spelling*; it exhibits no distinction to the eye of a silent reader; and yet its meaning is never mistaken. The construction shows at sight in which sense the word is to be understood. *Hail*

is used as an expression of joy or to signify frozen drops of water falling from the clouds. *Rear* is to raise up, or it signifies the hinder part of an army. *Lot* signifies fortune or destiny; a plat of ground; or a certain proportion or share; and yet does this diversity, this contrariety of meanings, ever occasion the least difficulty in the ordinary language of books? It cannot be maintained. This diversity is found in all languages;\* and altho it may be considered as a defect, and occasion some trouble for foreign learners, yet to natives it produces no sensible inconvenience.

5. "It is idle to conform the orthography of words to the pronunciation, because the latter is continually changing."

This is one of Dr. Johnson's objections, and it is very unworthy of his judgment. So far is this circumstance from being a real objection, that it is alone a sufficient reason for the change of spelling. On his principle of *fixing the orthography*, while the *pronunciation is changing*, any *spoken language* must, in time, lose all relation to the *written language*; that is, the sounds of words would have no affinity with the letters that compose them. In some instances, this is now the case; and no mortal would suspect from the spelling, that *neighbour*, *wrought*, are pronounced *nabur*, *rawt*. On this principle, Dr. Johnson ought to have gone back some centuries, and given us, in his dictionary, the primitive Saxon orthography, *wol* for *will*; *ydilnesse* for *idleness*; *eyen* for *eyes*; *eche* for *each*, &c. Nay, he should have gone as far as possible into antiquity, and, regardless of the changes of pronunciation, given us the primitive radical language in its purity. Happily for the language, that doctrine did not prevail till his time; the spelling of words changed with the pronunciation; to these changes we are indebted for numberless improvements; and it is hoped that the progress of them, in conformity with the national practice of speaking, will not be obstructed by the erroneous opinion, even of Dr. Johnson. How much more rational is the opinion of Dr. Franklin, who says, "the orthography of our language began to be fixed too soon." If the pronunciation must vary, from age to age (and some trifling changes of language will always be taking place), common sense would dictate a correspondent change of spelling. Admit Johnson's principles; take his pedantic orthography for the standard; let it be closely adhered to in future; and the slow

\* In the Roman language *liber* had four or five different meanings; it signified *free*, *the inward bark of a tree*, *a book*, sometimes *an epistle*, and also *generous*.

changes in the pronunciation of our national tongue will in time make as great a difference between our *written* and *spoken* language as there is between the pronunciation of the present English and German. The *spelling* will be no more a guide to the pronunciation than the orthography of the German or Greek. This event is actually taking place, in consequence of the stupid opinion, advanced by Johnson and other writers, and generally embraced by the nation.

All these objections appear to me of very inconsiderable weight, when opposed to the great, substantial and permanent advantages to be derived from a regular national orthography.

Sensible I am how much easier it is to propose improvements than to *introduce* them. Everything *new* starts the idea of difficulty; and yet it is often mere novelty that excites the appearance; for on a slight examination of the proposal, the difficulty vanishes. When we firmly *believe* a scheme to be practicable, the work is *half* accomplished. We are more frequently deterred by fear from making an attack than repulsed in the encounter.

Habit also is opposed to changes; for it renders even our errors dear to us. Having surmounted all difficulties in childhood, we forget the labor, the fatigue, and the perplexity we suffered in the attempt, and imagine the progress of our studies to have been smooth and easy.\* What seems intrinsically right is so merely thro habit.

Indolence is another obstacle to improvements. The most arduous task a reformer has to execute, is to make people *think*; to rouse them from that lethargy which, like the mantle of sleep, covers them in repose and contentment.

But America is in a situation the most favorable for great reformatations; and the present-time is, in a singular degree, auspicious. The minds of men in this country have been awakened. New scenes have been, for many years, presenting new occasions for exertion; unexpected distresses have called forth the powers of invention; and the application of new expedients has demanded every possible exercise of wisdom and talents. Attention is roused; the mind expanded; and the intellectual faculties

\* Thus most people suppose the present mode of spelling to be really the *easiest* and *best*. This opinion is derived from habit; the new mode of spelling proposed would save three fourths of the labor now bestowed in learning to write our language. A child would learn to spell as well in one year as he can now in four. This is not a supposition: it is an assertion capable of proof; and yet people, never knowing, or having forgot the labor of learning, suppose the present mode to be the easiest. No person, but one who has taught children, has any idea of the difficulty of learning to spell and pronounce our language in its present form.



invigorated. Here men are prepared to receive improvements, which would be rejected by nations whose habits have not been shaken by similar events.

*Now* is the time, and *this* the country, in which we may expect success, in attempting changes favorable to language, science and government. Delay, in the plan here proposed, may be fatal; under a tranquil general government, the minds of men may again sink into indolence; a national acquiescence in error will follow; and posterity be doomed to struggle with difficulties, which time and accident will perpetually multiply.

Let us then seize the present moment, and establish a *national language*, as well as a national government. Let us remember that there is a certain respect due to the opinions of other nations. As an independent people, our reputation abroad demands that in all things we should be federal; be *national*; for if we do not respect *ourselves*, we may be assured that *other nations* will not respect us. In short, let it be impressed upon the mind of every American that to neglect the means of commanding respect abroad is treason against the character and dignity of a brave independent people.

To excite the more attention to this subject, I will here subjoin what Dr. Franklin has done and written to effect a reform in our mode of spelling. This sage philosopher has suffered nothing useful to escape his notice. He very early discovered the difficulties that attend the learning of our language; and with his usual ingenuity invented a plan to obviate them. If any objection can be made to his scheme,\* it is the substitution of *new* characters for *th, sh, ng, &c.* whereas a small stroke, connecting the letters, would answer all the purposes of new characters; as these combinations would thus become single letters, with precise definite sounds and suitable names.

A specimen of the Doctor's spelling cannot be here given, as I have not the proper types;† but the arguments in favor of a reformed mode of spelling shall be given in his own words.

\* See his Miscellaneous Works, p. 470, Ed. Lond. 1779

† This indefatigable gentleman, amidst all his other employments, public and private, has compiled a Dictionary on his scheme of a Reform, and procured types to be cast for printing it. He thinks himself too old to pursue the plan; but has honored me with the offer of the manuscript and types, and expressed a strong desire that I should undertake the task. Whether this project, so deeply interesting to this country, will ever be effected; or whether it will be defeated by indolence and prejudice, remains for my countryman to determine.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MISS S—— TO DR. FRANKLIN WHO  
HAD SENT HER HIS SCHEME OF A REFORMED ALPHABET.  
DATED KENSINGTON (ENGLAND), SEPT. 26, 1768.

*Dear Sir*, I have transcribed your alphabet, &c. which I think might be of service to those who wish to acquire an accurate pronunciation, if that could be fixed; but I see many inconveniences, as well as difficulties, that would attend the bringing your letters and orthography into common use. All our etymologies would be lost; consequently we could not ascertain the meaning of many words; the distinction too between words of *different meaning* and *similar* sound would be useless,\* unless we living writers publish new editions. In short, I believe we must let people spell on in their old way, and (as we find it easiest) do the same ourselves.—With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way, subscribe myself,

Dear Sir,  
Your faithful and affectionate Servant, M. S.

DR. FRANKLIN.

#### DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER TO MISS S——.

*Dear Madam*, The objection you make to rectifying our alphabet, "that it will be attended with inconveniences and difficulties," is a very natural one; for it always occurs when any reformation is proposed, whether in religion, government, laws, and even down as low as roads and wheel carriages. The true question then is not, whether there will be no difficulties or inconveniences; but whether the difficulties may not be surmounted; and whether the conveniences will not, on the whole, be greater than the inconveniences. In this case, the difficulties are only in the beginning of the practice; when they are once overcome, the advantages are lasting. To either you or me, who spell well in the present mode, I imagin the difficulty of changing that mode for the new is not so great but that we might perfectly get over it in a week's writing. As to those who do not spell well, if the two difficulties are compared, viz. that of teaching them true spelling in the present mode, and that of teaching

\* This lady overlooked the other side of the question; viz. that by a reform of the spelling, words now spelt alike and pronounced differently would be distinguished by their letters; for the nouns *abuse* and *use* would be distinguished from the verbs, which would be spelt *abuze*, *yuze*; and so in many instances. See the answer below.

them the new alphabet and the new spelling according to it, I am confident that the latter would be by far the least. They naturally fall into the new method already, as much as the imperfection of their alphabet will admit of; their present *bad* spelling is only bad, because contrary to the present *bad* rules; under the new rules it would be *good*.\* The difficulty of learning to spell well in the old way is so great that few attain it; thousands and thousands writing on to old age, without ever being able to acquire it. It is, besides, a difficulty continually increasing; † as the sound gradually varies more and more from the spelling; and to foreigners it makes the learning to pronounce our language, as written in our books, almost impossible.

Now as to the inconveniences you mention: The first is, “that all our etymologies would be lost; consequently we could not ascertain the meaning of many words.” Etymologies are at present very uncertain; but such as they are, the old books still preserve them, and etymologists would there find them. Words in the course of time change their meaning, as well as their spelling and pronunciation; and we do not look to etymologies for their present meanings. If I should call a man a *knave* and a *villain*, he would hardly be satisfied with my telling him that one of the words originally signified a *lad* or *servant*, and the other an under *plowman*, or the inhabitant of a village. It is from present usage only the meaning of words is to be determined.

Your second inconvenience is, “the distinction between words of different meaning and similar sound would be destroyed.” That distinction is already destroyed in pronouncing them; and we rely on the sense alone of the sentence to ascertain which of the several words, similar in sound, we intend. If this is sufficient in the rapidity of discourse, it will be much more so in written sentences, which may be read leisurely, and attended to more particularly in case of difficulty, than we can attend to a past sentence, while the speaker is hurrying us along with new ones.

Your third inconvenience is, “that all the books already written would be useless.” This inconvenience would only come on gradually in a course of ages. I and you and other now living readers would hardly forget the use of them. People would long

\* This remark of the Doctor is very just and obvious. A countryman writes *aker* or *akur* for *acre*; yet the countryman is *right*, as the word *ought* to be spelt; and we laugh at him only because *we* are accustomed to be *wrong*.

† This is a fact of vast consequence.



learn to read the old writing, tho they practised the new. And the inconvenience is not greater than what has actually happened in a similar case in Italy. Formerly its inhabitants all spoke and wrote Latin; as the language changed, the spelling followed it. It is true that at present a mere unlearned Italian cannot read the Latin books, tho they are still read and understood by many. But if the spelling had never been changed, he would now have found it much more difficult to read and write his own language; \* for written words would have had no relation to sounds; they would only have stood for things; so that he would express in writing the idea he has when he sounds the word *Vescovo*, he must use the letters *Episcopus*.†

In short, whatever the difficulties and inconveniences now are, they will be more easily surmounted now than hereafter; and some time or other it must be done, or our writing will become the same with the Chinese, as to the difficulty of learning and using it. And it would already have been such, if we had continued the Saxon spelling and writing used by our forefathers.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LONDON, CRAVEN STREET, September 28, 1768.

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"The spelling-book," says Noah Webster in one of his essays, "does more to form the language of a nation than all other books." The circulation and influence of Webster's American Spelling-book, first published in 1783, were phenomenal: more than five million copies were sold in the first twenty years, and five times that number in the next fifty years. But Webster did not venture to make his Spelling-book, with all the reforms which he introduced in it, conform to his own radical principles, venturing only to hint in his preface at the reforms which he desired. "The spelling," he says, "of such words as publick, favour, neighbour, head, prove, phlegm, his, give, debt, rough, well, instead of the natural and easy method: public, favor, nabor, hed, proov, flem, hiz, giv, det, ruf, wel, has the plea of antiquity in its favor; and yet I am convinced that common sense and convenience will sooner or later get the better of the present absurd practice."

Half a dozen years after the first appearance of his famous Spelling-book, Webster published—"printed at Boston for the Author, by Isaiah Thomas and Company, 1789"—his volume of "Dissertations on the English Language: with Notes, Historical and Critical. To which is added, by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on the Subject." It is this latter essay which is reprinted in the

\* That is, if the language had retained the old *Roman* spelling, and been pronounced as the modern *Italian*. This is a fair state of facts, and a complete answer to all objections to a reform of spelling.

† In the same ridiculous manner, as we write, *rough, still, neighbor, wrong, tongue, true, rhetoric*, &c. and yet pronounce the words, *ruf, stil, nabur, rong, tung, tru, retoric*.

present leaflet. It is of historic significance as the first important essay ever published by an American on that subject, which has since become of such great interest and importance; and it marks a noteworthy step in Noah Webster's own intellectual career. It is a memorable document in the history of American Lexicography. The only other important American at that time thinking earnestly upon the subject was Dr. Franklin. It is very likely that Webster's first impulse to reform our spelling was given by Dr. Franklin; and "To his Excellency, Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Webster's volume was dedicated. Webster sent to Franklin a copy of his "Dissertations"; and Franklin's long letter of acknowledgment, dated December 26, 1789, less than four months before his death, applauding Webster's "zeal for preserving the purity of our language," may be found in Smyth's edition of Franklin's Writings, x. 75. Franklin's two earlier sympathetic letters to Webster, ix. 518, 527, are also of interest in the connection. See Franklin's "Scheme for a New Alphabet and Reformed Mode of Spelling," Writings, v. 169. In Webster's correspondence with Franklin, "the young man," says Mr. Scudder, "showed himself so ardent a disciple of the old as to win for himself a certain place as the doctor's residuary legatee in ideas."

In 1790 Webster published, also in Boston, his "Collection of Essays and Fugitiv [*sic*] Writings on Moral, Historical, Political and Literary Subjects"; and he began in the very preface to show the courage of his convictions. His contemporaries, as Mr. Scudder says, "must have looked with some amazement at what they could only think of as deformed spelling." He wrote: "During the course of ten or twelve yeers I have been laboring to correct popular errors, and to assist my yung brethern in the road to truth and virtue; my publications for theez purposes have been numerous," etc.

Webster inculcated his views on orthography upon all occasions. One who long afterwards became the printer of "Webster's Dictionary" remembered that when he was a boy working at the case in Burlington, Vt., a little pale-faced man came into the office and handed him a printed slip, saying, "My lad, when you use these words, please oblige me by spelling them as here: *theater*, *center*," etc. It was Noah Webster, travelling about among the printing-offices, and persuading people to spell as he did.

Webster receded somewhat from his early radicalism about spelling; but he remained a valiant spelling reformer, and many of the usages which he introduced have become established. In his first dictionary, the "Compendious Dictionary," published in 1806, he deviated little from the generally accepted orthography. He wrote *center* instead of *centre*, etc., omitted *u* from such words as *honour*, and *k* after *c* in such words as *publick*, also the diphthongs in words borrowed from the Latin. In the "American Dictionary" of 1828, he wrote *traveler* instead of *traveller*, and similarly in words of that class, etc. He was wont to defend himself against the common charge of proposing new forms of words by the appeal to English literature, maintaining that his aim was to restore, not to invent, and to bring back the language to its earlier and historic form. His general principles may be found stated in the various prefaces and introductions to his Dictionary, and in Horace E. Scudder's admirable biography of the great lexicographer.

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## Plan for the Union of the American States.

BY NOAH WEBSTER.

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“PLAN OF POLICY FOR IMPROVING THE ADVANTAGES AND PERPETUATING THE UNION OF THE AMERICAN STATES”: THE FOURTH SECTION OF WEBSTER’S “SKETCHES OF AMERICAN POLICY.” 1785.

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I have already mentioned three principles which have generally operated in combining the members of society under some supreme power; a standing army, religion and fear of an external force. A standing army is necessary in all despotic governments. Religion, by which I mean superstition, or human systems of absurdity, is an engine used in almost all governments, and has a powerful effect where people are kept in ignorance. The fear of conquest is an infallible bond of union where states are surrounded by martial enemies. After people have been long accustomed to obey, whatever be the first motive of their obedience, there is formed a habit of subordination, which has an almost irresistible influence, and which will preserve the tranquillity of government, even when coercion or the first principle of obedience has ceased to operate.

None of the foregoing principles can be the bond of union among the American states. A standing army will probably never exist in America. It is the instrument of tyranny and ought to be forever banished from free governments. Religion will have little or no influence in preserving the union of the states. The christian religion is calculated to cherish a spirit of peace and harmony in society; but will not balance the influence of jarring interests in different governments. As to neighboring foes, we



have none to fear; and European nations are too wise or have too much business at home, to think of conquering these states.

We must therefore search for new principles in modelling our political system. The American constitutions are founded on principles different from those of all nations, and we must find new bonds of union to perpetuate the confederation.

In the first place, there must be a supreme power at the head of the union, vested with authority to make laws that respect the states in general and to compel obedience to those laws. Such a power must exist in every society or no man is safe.

In order to understand the nature of such a power, we must recur to the principles explained under the first head of these observations.

All power is vested in the people. That this is their natural and inalienable right, is a position which will not be disputed. The only question is, how this power shall be exerted to effect the ends of government. If the people retain the power of executing laws, we have seen how this division will destroy all its effect. Let us apply the definition of a perfect system of government to the American states. "The right of making laws for the United States, should be vested in all their inhabitants by legal and equal representation, and the right of executing those laws, committed to the smallest possible number of magistrates, chosen annually by Congress and responsible to them for their administration." Such a system of continental government is perfect—it is practicable—and may be rendered permanent. I will even venture to assert that such a system may have, in legislation, all the security of republican circumspection; and in administration, all the energy and decision of a monarchy.

But must the powers of Congress be increased? This question implies gross ignorance of the nature of government. The question ought to be, must the American states be united? and, if this question is decided in the affirmative, the next question is, whether the states can be said to be united, without a legislative head? or in other words, whether thirteen states can be said to be united in government, when each state reserves to itself the sole powers of legislation? The answer to all such questions is extremely easy. If the states propose to form and preserve a confederacy, there must be a supreme head, in which the power of all the states is united.

There must be a supreme head clothed with the same power to make and enforce laws respecting the general policy of all the states,

as the legislatures of the respective states have to make laws binding on those states respecting their own internal police. The truth of this is taught by the principles of government and confirmed by the experience of America. Without such a head, the states cannot be *united*; and all attempts to conduct the measures of the continent, will prove but governmental farces. So long as any individual state has power to defeat the measures of the other twelve, our pretended union is but a name, and our confederation, a cobweb.

What, it will be asked, must the states relinquish their sovereignty and independence, and give Congress their rights of legislation? I beg to know what we mean by *United States*? If after Congress has passed a resolution of a general tenor, the states are still at liberty to comply or refuse, I must insist that they are not *united*; they are as separate, as they ever were; and Congress is merely an advisory body. If people imagine the Congress ought to be merely a council of advice, they will some time or other discover their most egregious mistake. If three millions of people, united under thirteen different heads, are to be governed or brought to act in concert by a *Resolve, That it be recommended*, I confess myself a stranger to history and to human nature.\* The very idea of uniting discordant interests and restraining the selfish and the wicked principles of men, by advisory resolutions, is too absurd to have advocates even among illiterate peasants. The resolves of Congress are always treated with respect, and during the late war, they were efficacious. But their efficacy proceeded from a principle of common safety which united the interests of all the states; but peace has removed that principle, and the states comply with or refuse the requisitions of Congress, just as they please.

The idea of each state preserving its sovereignty and independence in their full latitude, and yet holding up the appearance of a confederacy and a concert of measures, is a solecism in politics that will sooner or later dissolve the pretended union, or work other mischiefs sufficient to bear conviction to every mind.

But what shall be done? What system of government shall be framed, to guard our rights, to cement our union, and give energy to public measures? The answers to these questions are obvious and a plan of confederacy, extremely easy. Let the government

\* If the states cannot be brought to act in concert now, how can it be done when the number of the states is augmented and the inhabitants multiplied to many millions?

of the United States be formed upon the general plan of government in each of the several states. Let us examine the constitution of Connecticut.

The inhabitants of Connecticut form one body politic, under the name of the *Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut*. The whole body of freemen, in their collective capacity, is the supreme power of the state. By consent and firm compact or constitution, this supreme power is delegated to representatives, chosen in a legal manner and duly qualified. These representatives properly assembled, make laws, binding on the whole state; that is, the supreme power or state makes laws binding on itself. The supreme power and the subjects of that supreme power are the same body of men. As a collective body, the citizens are all an individual; as separate individuals, they are subjects as numerous as the citizens.

When laws are enacted they are of a general tenor; they respect the whole state and cannot be abrogated but by the whole state. But the whole state does not attempt to execute the laws. The state elects a governor or supreme magistrate and cloaths him with the power of the whole state to enforce the laws. Under him a number of subordinate magistrates, such as judges of courts, justices of the peace, sherriffs, &c. are appointed to administer the laws in their respective departments. These are commissioned by the governor or supreme magistrate. Thus the whole power of the state is brought to a single point—it is united in one person.

If the representation of the freemen is equal, and the elections frequent; if the magistrates are constitutionally chosen and responsible for their administration, such a government is of all others the most free and safe.\* The form is the most perfect on earth. While bills are depending before the supreme power, every citizen has a right to oppose them. A perfect freedom of debate is essential to a free government. But when a bill has been formally debated and is enacted into a law, it

\* People, in the choice of rulers, are too apt to be deceived by an insinuating address and a specious show of popular virtues. I pretend not to lay down rules for other people; but for my own part, I will never give my vote to a man who courts my favour. I always suspect that such a man will be the first to betray me. Nor will I give my vote to men, merely because they *have been* in office and it will hurt their feelings to be neglected. Such motives appear to me to discover weakness and a disregard to the true principles of government. I endeavor to give my votes to men, in whose integrity and abilities I can repose confidence—men, who will not dispense with law and rigid justice, to favour a friend or secure their own popularity. When I hear people talk of elevating a man to an office, because he comes *next in course*, and he will do well enough, I suspect they have forgot that they are freemen, and have lost *their oaths or their consciences*.



is the act of the whole state, and no individual has a right to resist it.\*

But, as it has been before observed, the acts of the supreme power must be general, it has therefore by a general law delegated full authority to certain inferior corporations to make by-laws for the convenience of small districts and not repugnant to the laws of the state. Thus every town in Connecticut is a supreme power for certain purposes and the cities are invested with extensive privileges. These corporations, for certain purposes, are independent of the legislature; they make laws, appoint officers and exercise jurisdiction within their own limits. As bodies politic, they are sovereign and independent—as members of a large community, they are mere subjects. In the same manner the head of a family is sovereign in his domestic economy, but as a part of the state he is subject.

Let a similar system of government be extended to the United States. As towns and cities are, as to their small matters, sovereign and independent, and as to their general concerns, mere subjects of the state; so let the several states, as to their own police, be sovereign and independent, but as to the common concerns of all, let them be mere subjects of the federal head. If the necessity of a union is admitted, such a system is the only means of effecting it. However independent each state may be and ought to be in things that relate to itself merely, yet as a part of a greater body, it must be a subject of that body, in matters that relate to the whole.

A system of continental government, thus organized, may establish and perpetuate the confederation, without infringing the rights of any particular state.† But the power of all the states must be reduced to a narrow compass—it must center in a single body of men—and it must not be liable to be controlled or defeated by an individual state. The states assembled in Congress, must have the same compulsory power in matters that concern the whole, as a man has in his own family, as a city has within the limits of the corporation, and as the legislature of a state has in

\* To be the act of the whole state, an act should, strictly speaking, be assented to by every member; but this is often impossible; the act of the majority is therefore the most perfect and only practicable method of legislation.

† Such a form of Government resembles the harmony of nature in the planetary system. The moon is an inferior planet subject to the earth. The earth and other planets govern their secondary planets and at the same time, are governed by the sun, the common center of our system: And it is highly probable that the sun may be a planet, governed by some other great central body or power. A gradation, similar to this, is obvious in the animal world.

the limits of that state, respecting matters that fall within their several jurisdictions.

I beg to know how otherwise the states will be governed as a collective body? Every man knows by his own experience that even families are not to be kept in subordination by recommendations and advice. How much less then will such flimsy things command the obedience of a whole continent! They will not—they do not. A single state, by non-compliance with resolves of Congress, has repeatedly defeated the most salutary measures of the states, proposed by Congress and acceded to by twelve out of thirteen.\*

I will suppose for the present that a measure, recommended by Congress and adopted by a majority of the legislatures, should be really repugnant to the interest of a single state, considered in its separate capacity. Would it be right for that state to oppose it? While the measure is in agitation it is the undoubted privilege of every state to oppose it by every argument. But when it is passed by the concurrence of a legal majority, it is the duty of every state to acquiesce.—So far from resisting the measure, those very individuals, who opposed it in the debate, ought to support it in execution.† The reason is very plain: society and government can be supported on no other principles. The interest of individuals must always give place to the interest of the whole community. This principle of government is not perfect, but it is as perfect as any principle that can be carried into effect on this side heaven.

It is for the interest of the American states, either to be united or not. If their union is unnecessary, let Congress be annihilated, or let them be denominated *a council of advice* and considered as such. They must then be stripped of their power of making peace and war, and of a variety of prerogatives given them by the articles of confederation. In this case we ourselves and the states of Europe, should know what kind of a being Congress is—

\* The manner in which the impost of five per cent has been prevented by the state of Rhode-Island is well known. It is a disgrace to any government on earth. The state has local interest in not complying with the measure. A state impost brings money into their treasury, but as the state imports more than it consumes, the duty on goods not consumed there, is clear gain. Thus a state by its local situation is enabled to pay its debts and support government with money collected in the neighboring states. If such a selfish system is suffered to prevail, let us dissolve the confederation, and let every state make the most of its strength and advantages by filching from its neighbour. In such a game Rhode-Island will lose.

† A delegate from Connecticut, who was in Congress when the half-pay resolution was debated, resolutely opposed the measure. But when it had legally passed by a majority of voices, he acquiesced, and has ever defended the measure; even at the hazard of his reputation. If there is any characteristic of an honest man and a good subject, it is such a line of conduct.

what dependence can be placed on their resolves—what is the nature of the treaties which they have made and the debts they have contracted.

But if the states are all serious in a design to establish a permanent *union*, let their sincerity, be evinced by their public conduct.

Suppose the legislature of Rhode-Island had no power to compel obedience to its laws, but any town in that state had power to defeat every public measure. Could any laws be rendered effectual? Could it with propriety be called a state? Could it be said that there was any supreme power, or any government? certainly not. Suppose the smallest town in Connecticut, had power to defeat the most salutary measures of the state; would not every other town rise in arms against any attempt to exert such a power? They certainly would. The truth of the case is, where the power of the people is not united in some individual or small body of individuals, but continues divided among the members of a society, that power is nothing at all. The fact is clearly proved under the first head of these observations, and more clearly felt by our fatal experience.

The American states, as to their general internal police, are *not united*; there is no supreme power at their head; they are in a perfect state of nature and independence as to each other; each is at liberty to fight its neighbour, and there is no sovereign to call forth the power of the continent to quell the dispute or punish the aggressor.\* It is not in the power of the Congress—they have no command over the militia of the states—each state commands its own, and should any one be disposed for civil war, the sword must settle the contest and the weakest be sacrificed to the strongest.

It is now in the power of the states to form a continental government as efficacious as the interior government of any particular state.

The general concerns of the continent may be reduced to a few heads; but in all the affairs that respect the whole, Congress must have the same power to enact laws and compel obedience throughout the continent, as the legislatures of the several states have in their respective jurisdictions. If Congress have any power, they must have the whole power of the continent. Such a power would not abridge the sovereignty of each state in any article relating to

\* Congress ordered a number of troops to be raised for taking possession of the frontier posts and defending them from the savages. A year has elapsed since this order and the troops are now mostly at home. The enemy still hold our forts, possess the furr trade and ravage our new settlements. Such weakness in government is infamy.



its own government. The internal police of each state would be still under the sole superintendence of its legislature. But in a matter that equally respects all the states, no individual state has more than a thirteenth part of the legislative authority, and consequently has no right to decide what measure shall or shall not take place on the continent. A majority of the states *must* decide;\* our confederation cannot be permanent unless founded on that principle; nay more, the states cannot be said to be *united*, till such a principle is adopted in its utmost latitude. If a single town or precinct could counteract the will of a whole state, would there be any government in that state? It is an established principle in government, that the will of the minority must submit to that of the majority; and a single state or a minority of states, ought to be disabled to resist the will of the majority, as much as a town or county in any state is disabled to prevent the execution of a statute law of the legislature.

It is on this principle and *this alone*, that a free state can be governed; it is on this principle alone that the American states can exist as a confederacy of republics. Either the several states must continue separate, totally independent of each other, and liable to all the evils of jealousy, dispute and civil dissention—nay, liable to a civil war upon any clashing of interests; or they must constitute a general head, composed of representatives from all the states, and vested with the power of the whole continent to enforce their decisions. There is no other alternative. One of these events must inevitably take place, and the revolution of a few years will verify the prediction.

I know the objections that have been urged by the supporters of faction and perhaps by some honest men, against such a power at the head of the states. But the objections all arise from false notions of government or from a wilful design to embroil the states. Many people, I doubt not, really suppose that such power in Congress, would be dangerous to the liberties of the states. Such ought to be enlightened.

There are two fundamental errors, very common in the reasonings which I have heard on the powers of Congress. The first arises from the idea that our American constitutions are founded on principles similar to those of the European governments which have been called *free*. Hence people are led into a second error;

\* Congress have been more careful of our liberties; for the articles of confederation ordain that, in matters of great national concern, the concurrence, not of seven states, a mere majority, but of *nine* should be requisite to pass a resolution.

which is, that Congress are a body independent of their constituents and under the influence of a distinct interest.

But we have seen before that our systems of civil government are different from all others; founded on different principles, more favourable to freedom and more secure against corruption.

We have no perpetual distinctions of property, which might raise one class of men above another, and create powerful family connections and combinations against our liberties. We suffer no hereditary offices or titles, which might breed insolence and pride, and give their possessors an opportunity to oppress their fellow men. We are not under the direction of a bigoted clergy, who might rob us of the means of knowledge and then inculcate on credulous minds what sentiments they please. Not a single office or emolument in America is held by prescription or hereditary right; but all at the disposal of the people, and not a man on the continent, but drones and villains, who has not the privilege of frequently choosing his legislators and impeaching his magistrates for mal-administration. Such principles form the basis of our American governments; the first and only governments on earth that are founded on the true principles of equal liberty and properly guarded from corruption.

The legislatures of the American states are the only legislatures on earth, which are *wholly* dependent on the people at large; and Congress is as dependent on the several states, as the legislatures are on their constituents. The members of Congress are chosen by the legislatures,\* removable by them at pleasure, dependant on them for subsistence and responsible to their constituents for their conduct. But this is not all. After having been delegated three years, the confederation renders them ineligible for the term of three years more; when they must return, mingle with the people and become private citizens. At the same time their interest is the same with that of the people; for enjoying no exclusive privileges but what are temporary, they cannot knowingly enact oppressive laws, because they involve themselves, their families and estates in all the mischiefs that result from such laws.

People therefore who attempt to terrify us with apprehensions of losing our liberties, because other states have lost theirs, betray an ignorance of history and of the principles of our confederation. I will not undertake to say that the government of the American

\* In eleven states. In the other two, they are elected by the people. This is a defect, however, in the constitutions of those states, as the delegates, when chosen by the people, are immediately removable by the assembly and their place may be supplied without a reason given. The privilege of the people therefore is nothing.

states will not be corrupted or degenerate into tyranny. But I venture to assert, that if it should, it will be the fault of the people. If the people continue to choose their representatives annually and the choice of the delegates to Congress should remain upon its present footing, that body can never become tyrants. A measure partially oppressive may be resolved upon, but while the principles of representation, which are always in the power of the people, remain uncorrupted, such a measure can be of no long continuance. The best constitution of government may degenerate from its purity, through a variety of causes; but the confederation of these states is better secured than any government on earth, and less liable to corruption from any quarter.

There is the same danger that the constitutions of the several states will become tyrannical, as that the principles of federal government will be corrupted. The states in their collective capacity have no more reason to dread an uncontrollable power in Congress than they have, in their individual capacity, to dread the uncontrollable power of their own legislatures. Their security in both instances is, an equal representation, the dependence, the responsibility and the rotation of their representatives. These articles constitute the basis of our liberties, and will be an effectual security, so long as the people are wise enough to maintain the principles of the confederation.

I beg leave here to observe that a state was never yet destroyed by a corrupt or a wicked administration. Weakness and wickedness, in the executive department, may produce innumerable evils; but so long as the principles of a constitution remain uncorrupted, their vigour will always restore good order. Every stride of tyranny in the best governments in Europe, has been effected by breaking over some constitutional barriers. But where a constitution is formed by the people and unchangeable but by their authority, the progress of corruption must be extremely slow, and perhaps tyranny can never be established in such government, except upon a general habit of indolence and vice.

What do the states obtain by reserving to themselves the right of deciding on the propriety of the resolutions of Congress? The great advantage of having every measure defeated, our frontiers exposed to savages, the debts of the states unpaid and accumulating, national faith violated, commerce restricted and insulted, one state filching some interest from another, and the whole body, linked together by cobwebs and shadows, the jest and the ridicule



of the world. This is not a chimerical description; it is a literal representation of the facts as they now exist. One state found it could make some advantages by refusing the impost. Congress have reasoned with the legislature, and by incontrovertible proofs have pointed out the impropriety of the refusal, but all to no purpose. Thus one fiftieth part of the states counteracts a measure that the other states suppose not only beneficial, but necessary; a measure, on which the discharge of our public debt and our national faith, most obviously depend. Can a government, thus feeble and disjointed, answer any valuable purpose? Can commutative justice between the states ever be obtained? Can public debts be discharged and credit supported? Can America ever be respected by her enemies, when one of her own states can, year after year, abuse her weakness with impunity? No, the American states, so celebrated for their wisdom and valour in the late struggle for freedom and empire, will be the contempt of nations, unless they can unite their force and carry into effect all the constitutional measures of Congress, whether those measures respect themselves or foreign nations.

The articles of confederation ordain, that the public expenses shall be defrayed out of a common treasury. But where is this treasury? Congress prescribe a measure for supplying this treasury; but the states do not approve of the measure; each state will take its own way and its own time, and perhaps not supply its contingent of money at all. Is this an adherence to the articles of our union? It certainly is not; and the states that refuse a compliance with the general measures of the continent, would, under a good government, be considered as rebels. Such a conduct amounts to treason, for it strikes at the foundation of government.

Permit me to ask every candid American, how society could exist, if every man assumed the right of sacrificing his neighbours property to his own interest? Are there no rights to be relinquished, no sacrifices to be made for the sake of enjoying the benefits of civil government? If every town in Rhode Island, even the smallest, could annihilate every act of the legislature, could that state exist? Were such a selfish system to prevail generally, there would be an end of government and civil society would become a curse. A social state would be less eligible than a savage state, in proportion as knowledge would be increased and knaves multiplied. Local inconvenience and local interests never ought to disappoint a measure of general utility. If there

is not power enough in government to remedy these evils, by obliging private interests to give way to public, discord will pervade the state, and terminate in a revolution. Such a power must exist somewhere, and if people will quarrel with good government, there are innumerable opportunities for some daring ambitious genius to erect a monarchy on civil dissensions. In America, there is no danger of an aristocracy; but the transition from popular anarchy to monarchy, is very natural and often very easy. If these states have any change of government to fear, it is a monarchy. Nothing but the creation of a sovereign power over the whole, with authority to compel obedience to legal measures, can ever prevent a revolution in favour of one monarchy or more. This event may be distant, but it is not the less certain. America has it now in her power to create a supreme power over the whole continent, sufficient to answer all the ends of government, without abridging the rights or destroying the sovereignty of a single state. But should the extreme jealousy of the states, prevent the lodgment of such a power in a body of men chosen by themselves and removable at pleasure, such a power will inevitably create itself in the course of events.

The confederation has sketched out a most excellent form of continental government. The ninth article recites the powers of Congress, which are perhaps nearly sufficient to answer the ends of our union, were there any method of enforcing their resolutions. It is there said what powers shall be exercised by Congress; but no penalty is annexed to disobedience. What purpose would the laws of a state answer, if they might be evaded with impunity? and if there were no penalty annexed to a breach of them? A law without a penalty is mere *advice*; a magistrate, without power of punishing, is a *cypher*. Here is the *great defect* in the articles of our federal government. Unless Congress can be vested with the same authority to compel obedience to their resolutions, that a legislature in any state has to enforce obedience to the laws of that state, the existence of such a body is entirely needless and will not be of long duration. I repeat what I have before said. The idea of governing thirteen states, and uniting their interests by mere *resolves* and *recommendations*, without any penalty annexed to a non-compliance, is a ridiculous farce, a burlesque on government, and a reproach to America.

Let Congress be empowered to call forth the force of the continent, if necessary, to carry into effect those measures which they have a right to frame. Let the president, be, *ex officio*, supreme

magistrate, clothed with authority to execute the laws of Congress, in the same manner as the governors of the states, are to execute the laws of the states. Let the superintendent of finance have the power of receiving the public monies and issuing warrants for collection, in the manner the treasurer has, in Connecticut. Let every executive officer have power to enforce the laws, which fall within his province. At the same time, let them be accountable for their administration. Let penalties be annexed to every species of male-administration and exacted with such rigour as is due to justice and public safety. In short, let the whole system of legislation, be the peculiar right of the delegates in Congress, who are always under the control of the people; and let the whole administration be vested in magistrates as few as possible in number and subject to the control of Congress only. Let every precaution be used in *framing* laws, but let no part of the subjects be able to resist the execution. Let the people keep, and *forever keep*, the sole right of legislation in their own representatives; but divest themselves wholly of any right to the administration. Let every state reserve its sovereign right of directing its own internal affairs; but give to Congress the sole right of conducting the general affairs of the continent. Such a plan of government is practicable; and I believe, the only plan that will preserve the faith, the dignity and the union of these American states.

I shall just hint several other matters, that may serve, in a more remote manner, to confirm the union of these states.

Education or a general diffusion of knowledge among all classes of men, is an article that deserves peculiar attention. Science liberalizes men and removes the most inveterate prejudices. Every prejudice, every dissocial passion is an enemy to a friendly intercourse and the fuel of discord. Nothing can be more illiberal than the prejudices of the southern states against New-England manners. They deride our manners and by that derision betray the want of manners themselves. However different may be the customs and fashions of different states, yet those of the southern are as ridiculous as those of the northern. The fact is, neither one nor the other are the subjects of ridicule and contempt. Particular districts have local peculiarities; but custom gives all an equal degree of propriety. It is remarked of the Greeks as a great indelicacy of manners, that they held all the world except themselves to be barbarians. The people of Congo think the world to be the work of angels; except their own coun-



try, which they hold to be the work of the supreme architect. The Greenlanders make a mock of Europeans or Kablunets, as they call them. They despise arts and sciences and value themselves on their skill in catching seals, which they conceive to be the only useful art.\* Just as absurd as these, are the prejudices between the states. Education will gradually eradicate them, and a growing intercourse will harmonize the feelings and the views of all the citizens.

Next to the removal of local prejudices, the annihilation of local interests between the states deserves their consideration. Each state wishes to enrich itself as much as possible; but it never ought to be done at the expense of a neighbor. All imports and duties upon goods purchased of one state by another or carried in a port of another state either by necessity or accident, are the effect of narrow views, and of selfish, unsociable, ungenerous principles, that degrade any state where they operate. The states may lay what duties they please upon foreigners—this is no more than honest—but they ought to consider their several interests as one—they ought to encourage the commerce of each other—they ought to promote such an intercourse as will conciliate rather than alienate each others affections. Every injury done by any particular state to the union, will ultimately recoil upon itself with accumulated weight. It is the act of a madman to sacrifice the happiness of his life to a moment's pleasure; and none but a fool would pull the house about his ears to find a shilling. So long as the states are making every advantage out of each other, racking invention to enlarge their own bounds, and augment their wealth and respectability at each others expence, jealousy, ill-will and reproaches will disturb the harmony of public measures and contribute to the dissolution of all continental connections. Not only should the states avoid wringing property from each other by duties on articles of commerce; but also an extension of territory in such a manner as to create reciprocal jealousies. All the superior respectability that a single state gains above others by its extent and wealth, detracts so much from the strength and harmony of the union. In order to have our union complete and permanent, all the states should have an equal influence in public deliberations. The want of such equality is a capital

\* A fashionable buck in Carolina despises literature. A man of science without the address of the *beau monde*, is ridiculed and placed almost among the servants. In the southern states, gaming, fox-hunting and horse-racing are the height of ambition; industry is reserved for slaves. In the northern states, industry and cultivation of the arts and sciences, distinguish the people. Which discover the best taste?

misfortune—it had well nigh prevented our confederation—and has produced other sensible inconveniences.

The abolition of slavery is a matter intimately connected with the policy of these states. The northern states would hardly feel such an event—the southern would at present suffer by it most sensibly. But slavery ought to be viewed as to its present tendency and remote consequences. At present it is the bane of industry and virtue. The slaves in the southern states support luxury, vice and indolence more than all other causes. They may enrich their owners; but render them too often useless members of society. Nor are slaves so profitable as white people; for one man, who lives by his industry, and eats hearty food, will do as much labour as five negroes. Were the plantations leased for small rents or the fee of the soil vested in men who have the prospect of gain by their labour, they would be better cultivated and yield more produce to the owners. But aside of the detestable principle of subjecting one man to the service of another, which dishonours a free government, and the evil of supporting luxury the bane of society, slavery inspires other principles repugnant to the genius of our American constitutions. It cherishes a spirit of supercilious contempt—a haughty, unsocial, aristocratic temper, inconsistent with that equality which is the basis of our governments and the happiness of human society.

An uniformity in the general principles of each constitution, deserves attention. Some defects may be found in all: I will mention but one, which is not common to all; the exclusion of clergymen from the civil offices. Considering the evils that mankind have suffered from Ecclesiastics in Europe, it is no wonder that Americans should dread their power. But men, in avoiding one error, run into another. We are not apt to attend to the difference of circumstances. The clergy in America do not and ought not, as a body, to form a part of government. But why, as individuals, they should be excluded from all the emoluments of government, and all share of making the laws to which they are subject, is to me inconceivable. Merchants, mechanics and farmers as distinct bodies, have no power, but as individuals, they are eligible to offices of trust and profit, and so ought to be ecclesiastics. Here is the distinction and the reasoning applies with equal force, to every profession.

Must clergymen, because they are employed about spiritual concerns, be deprived of the privileges of society? But aside of the flagrant injustice of such exclusion, the measure counteracts

its own end. When ecclesiastics as a body, are admitted to a share in legislation, they may form combinations dangerous to a state. To prevent this danger, some states exclude them totally from civil offices, and thus make them foes to the government by a most tyrannical distinction. Such an exclusion therefore produces the very effect, which it was intended to prevent. The state of New-York is a witness of this truth. Add to this the inevitable tendency of such an exclusion to discourage men of knowledge and liberality from entering into a most useful and necessary profession. Surely no state ought to interweave, into its constitution, a general discouragement of a profession, calculated at least to promote the peace and happiness of society. Should I be asked what privileges clergymen ought to enjoy? I would answer, the same as other citizens. This would annihilate their power as a body, by scattering its force, by leveling a distinction of orders, and blending the civil and ecclesiastical interests in one *indivisible interest*.

The same principle, which excludes clergymen from civil offices, and which has introduced test laws and subscription of creeds, into some of the American constitutions, would have justified the religious wars in France and Germany; nay, the same principle would have justified Nero and Dioclesian in extirpating christianity and committing the bible to the flames. The principle would only be extended further in one case than in the other. If there is in the system of things, such a thing as true religion, and a spirit of pure benevolence; religious establishments, sacramental tests, articles of faith, partial exclusion from emoluments, and that illiberal pride which sanctifies our own opinions and damns all others, will forever banish them from human society. Had it not been for these barriers, invented to guard human absurdities, millions of lives would have been saved, and the members of every enlightened community would have been of *one religion*.

America is an independent empire, and ought to assume a national character. Nothing can be more ridiculous, than a servile imitation of the manners, the language, and the vices of foreigners. For setting aside the infancy of our government and our inability to support the fashionable amusements of Europe, nothing can betray a more despicable disposition in Americans, than to be the apes of Europeans. An American ought not to ask what is the custom of London and Paris; but what is proper for us in our circumstances and what is becoming



our dignity? Instead of this, what is the fact? Why every fashionable folly is brought from Europe and adopted without scruple in our dress, our manners and our conversation. All our ladies, even those of the most scanty fortune, must dress like a dutchess in London; every shop-keeper must be as great a rake as an English lord; while the *belles* and the *beaux*, with tastes too refined for a vulgar language, must, in all their discourse, mingle a spice of *sans souci* and *je ne sçai quoi*.

But there is no reasoning with custom nor with fashion. We shall probably learn the arts and virtues of Europeans; but certainly their vices and follies. In politics, our weakness will render us the dupes of their power and artifice; in manners, we shall be the slaves of their barbers and their coxcombs.

But however important may be the remote consequences of a corruption of manners; yet much nearer concerns now demand our attention. Our union is so feeble, that no provision is made for discharging our debts. France calls for interest and that seriously. Our credit, our faith solemnly pledged, is at stake. Unless we constitute a power at the head of the states, sufficient to compel them to act in concert, I now predict not only a dissolution of our federal connection, but a rupture with our national creditors. A war in Europe may possibly suspend this event; but it must certainly take place, unless we sacrifice our jealousy to our true interest.

*Three things* demand our early and careful attention; a general diffusion of knowledge; the encouragement of industry, frugality and virtue; and a sovereign power at the head of the states. *All* are essential to our peace and prosperity; but on an energetic continental government principally depend our tranquility at home and our respectibility among foreign nations.

We ought to generalize our ideas and our measures. We ought not to consider ourselves as inhabitants of a particular state only; but as *Americans*; as the common subjects of a great empire. We cannot and ought not wholly to divest ourselves of provincial views and attachments; but we should subordinate them to the general interests of the continent. As a member of a family, every individual has some domestic interests; as a member of a corporation, he has other interests; as an inhabitant of a state, he has a more extensive interest; as a citizen and subject of the American empire, he has a national interest far superior to all others. Every relation in society constitutes some obligations, which are proportional to the magnitude of the society. A

good prince does not ask what will be for the interest of a country or small district in his dominion; but what will promote the prosperity of his kingdom? In the same manner, the citizens of this new world, should enquire, not what will aggrandize this town or this state; but what will augment the power, secure the tranquility, multiply the subjects, and advance the opulence, the dignity and the virtues of the United States. Self interest, both in morals and politics, is and ought to be the ruling principle of mankind; but this principle must operate in perfect conformity to social and political obligations. Narrow views and illiberal prejudices may for a time produce a selfish system of politics in each state; but a few years experience will correct our ideas of self-interest, and convince us that a selfishness which excludes others from a participation of benefits, is, in all cases, self-ruin, and that *provincial interest* is inseparable from *national interest*.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HON. JAS. MADISON, ON THE ORIGIN OF  
THE CONSTITUTION.

*Letter from N. Webster to Mr. Madison.*

NEW HAVEN, August 20, 1804.

*Sir*—In the fall of Gen. Hamilton I feel, in common with my fellow citizens, that the United States have lost a very distinguished character, and I sincerely deplore the cause and the event. Yet I can not join the voice of his admirers to the full extent of praise. He had some failings, which very much lessened his public usefulness; and I believe he has some credit which does not belong to him. On one important point I wish for information, which is the reason of my troubling you with this letter.

Dr. Mason, in his Eulogy, has asserted, p. 11, that Gen. Hamilton, with a view "to retrieve our affairs by establishing an efficient general government, consented to be a candidate for the legislature." The year is not mentioned, nor am I disposed to question the fact. He adds, "it is indubitable that the *original germ* out of which has grown up our unexampled prosperity, was in the *bosom of Hamilton*." This may be true, that Gen. Hamilton very early perceived the necessity of a more efficient government than the old confederation; but was not the germ of such a government in the minds of many others? Dr. Mason adds that Gen. Washington accepted a seat in the convention at the persuasion of Gen. Hamilton. This may be true. Mr. Otis, in his Eulogy, has asserted that Gen. Hamilton in the convention at Annapolis "*first* suggested the proposal of attempting a radical change in the principles

of our government." This may be true as it respects the proposal in the convention; but surely the proposal of a radical change was made long before. I published a pamphlet on the subject eighteen months before, and took the pains to carry it in person to Gen. Washington in May, 1785. At his house you read it in the ensuing summer. It is entitled "Sketches of American Policy." The remarks in the first three sketches are general, and some of them I now believe to be too visionary for practice; but the fourth sketch was intended expressly to urge, by all possible arguments, the necessity of a radical alteration in our system of general government, and an outline is there suggested. As a private man, young and unknown, I could do but little, but that little I did.

Who *first* suggested the proposition for the present government, I am not certain; but I have always understood and declared that you made the first proposal, and brought forward a resolve for the purpose, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, in the session of December, 1785. In this I am confident of being correct, for I was in Richmond at that time. If wrong, please to set me right.

Mr. Paine claims to be the first mover of the proposal for a national government, alledging that he suggested it to some friends in the year 1784 or 1785. Mr. Pelatiah Webster wrote a pamphlet on the subject of a different frame of government in 1784. Dr. Dwight, in a century sermon four years ago, suggested ideas similar to what Dr. Mason has published. This is a historical fact of some importance, and I think it ought to be known and authenticated during *your* life. No honest man can wish to have credit for what is not due to him, and what is due to him ought not to be withheld or bestowed on another. I must beg the favor of you to communicate to me the facts as far as you know them, not for the purpose of publication, but for the sake of enabling me to possess a true state of the facts, and correcting the errors of my neighbors.

I am reading, and am much pleased with, the first volume of the life of Gen. Washington. One or two errors have escaped the respectable author. In page 125, he has placed New Haven on Connecticut River, although thirty-five or forty miles west of it.

In page 105 he has given an account from Hutchinson of the origin of representation in the General Court of Massachusetts; but the account is not perfectly correct. In the first volume of my "Elements of Useful Knowledge" in the office of state, p. 158, there is a brief but correct statement of that change, taken from the history written by Governor Winthrop, who was personally in the transaction; a valuable authority which I believe Chief Justice Marshall does not possess. It lay in manuscript till 1790, when I procured it to be copied and printed. It is now out of print, but is the safest guide of the historian for the first fourteen years after the settlement of Boston. I am the more anxious to have the causes of that event fully stated, as the facts repel a suggestion often made by French writers, that in the division of houses



in our legislatures, we have been led by a disposition to imitate the parliament of Great Britain. It appears, however, that the first instance of it arose out of a state of things in Massachusetts, altogether extraneous to any such principle.

I have the honor, &c.

N. WEBSTER.

Hon. JAS. MADISON.

*Reply to the Foregoing.*

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12, 1804.

Sir—I received, during a visit to my farm, your letter of Aug. 20, and hoped that I should, in that situation, find leisure to give it as full an answer as my memory and my papers would warrant. An unforeseen pressure of public business, with a particular one of private business interesting to others as well as to myself, having disappointed me, I find myself under the necessity of substituting the few brief remarks which return to the occupations of this place, and the absence of my papers, will admit.

I had observed, as you have done, that a great number of loose assertions have at different times been made with respect to the origin of the reform in our system of federal government, and that this has particularly happened on the late occasion which so strongly excited the effusions of party and personal zeal for the fame of Gen. Hamilton.

The change in our government like most other important improvements ought to be ascribed rather to a series of causes than to any particular and sudden one, and to the participation of many, rather than to the efforts of a single agent. It is certain that the general idea of revising and enlarging the scope of the federal authority, so as to answer the necessary purposes of the Union, grew up in many minds, and by natural degrees, during the experienced inefficacy of the old confederation. The discernment of Gen. Hamilton must have rendered him an early patron of the idea. That the public attention was called to it by yourself at an early period is well known.

In common with others, I derived from my service in the old Congress during the latter stages of the Revolutionary war, a deep impression of the necessity of invigorating the federal authority. I carried this impression with me into the legislature of Virginia; where, in the year 1784, if my recollection does not fail me, Mr. Henry co-operated with me and others in certain resolutions calculated to strengthen the hands of Congress.

In 1785, I made a proposition with success in the legislature of the same state, for the appointment of commissioners to meet at Annapolis such commissioners as might be appointed by other states, in order to form some plan for investing Congress with the regulation and taxation of commerce. This I presume to be the proceeding which gave you the impression that the first proposal of the present constitution was

then made. It is possible that something more might have been the subject of conversation, or may have been suggested in debate, but I am induced to believe that the meeting at Annapolis was all that was regularly proposed at that session. I would have consulted the journals of it, but they were either lost or mislaid.

Although the step taken by Virginia was followed by the greater number of the states, the attendance at Annapolis was both so tardy and so deficient, that nothing was done on the subject immediately committed to the meeting. The consultations took another turn. The expediency of a more radical reform than the commissioners had been authorized to undertake being felt by almost all of them, and each being fortified in his sentiments and expectations by those of others, and by the information gained as to the general preparation of the public mind, it was concluded to recommend to the states a meeting at Philadelphia, the ensuing year, of commissioners with authority to digest and propose a new and effectual system of government for the Union. The manner in which this idea rose into effect, makes it impossible to say with whom it more particularly originated. I do not even recollect the member who first proposed it to the body. I have an indistinct impression that it received its first formal suggestion from Mr. Abraham Clark of New Jersey. Mr. Hamilton was certainly the member who drafted the address.

The legislature of Virginia was the first I believe, that had an opportunity of taking up the recommendation, and the first that concurred in it. It was thought proper to express its concurrence in terms that would give the example as much weight and effect as possible; and with the same view to include in the deputation, the highest characters in the state, such as the governor and chancellor. The same policy led to the appointment of Gen. Washington, who was put at the head of it. It was not known at the time how far he would lend himself to the occasion. When the appointment was made known to him, he manifested a readiness to yield to the wishes of the legislature, but felt a scruple from his having signified to the Cincinnati, that he could not meet them at Philadelphia, near about the same time, for reasons equally applicable to the other occasion. Being in correspondence with him at the time and on the occasion, I pressed him to step over the difficulty. It is very probable that he might consult with others, particularly with Mr. Hamilton, and that their or his exhortations and arguments may have contributed more than mine to his final determination.

When the convention as recommended at Annapolis took place at Philadelphia, the deputies from Virginia supposed, that as that state had been first in the successive steps leading to a revision of the federal system, some introductory propositions might be expected from them. They accordingly entered into consultation on the subject, immediately on their arrival at Philadelphia, and having agreed among themselves on the outline of a plan, it was laid before the convention by Mr. Randolph, at that time governor of the state, as well as member of the con-

vention. This project was the basis of its deliberations; and after passing through a variety of changes in its important as well as its lesser features, was developed and amended into the form finally agreed to.

I am afraid that this sketch will fall much short of the object of your letter. Under more favorable circumstances, I might have made it more particular. I have often had it in idea to make out from the materials in my hands, and within my reach, as minute a chronicle as I could, of the origin and progress of the last revolution in our government. I went through such a task with respect to the declaration of independence, and the old confederation, whilst a member of Congress in 1783; availing myself of all the circumstances to be gleaned from the public archives, and from some auxiliary sources. To trace in like manner a chronicle or rather a history of our present constitution, would in several points of view be still more curious and interesting; and fortunately the materials for it are far more extensive. Whether I shall ever be able to make such a contribution to the annals of our country, is rendered every day more and more uncertain.

I will only add that on the slight view which I have taken of the subject to which you have been pleased to invite my recollections, it is to be understood, that in confining myself so much to the proceedings of Virginia, and to the agency of a few individuals, no exclusion of other states or persons is to be implied, whose share in the transactions of the period may be unknown to me.

With great respect and esteem, I remain, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES MADISON.

NOAH WEBSTER, Esq.

MONTPELIER, March 10, 1826.

*Dear Sir*—In my letter of Oct. 12, 1804, answering an inquiry of yours of Aug. 20, it was stated that “in 1785, I made a proposition with success in the legislature, (of Virginia,) for the appointment of commissioners, to meet at Annapolis such commissioners as might be appointed by other states, in order to form some plan for investing Congress with the regulation and taxation of commerce.” In looking over some of my papers having reference to that period, I find reason to believe that the impression, under which I made the statement, was erroneous; and that the proposition, though probably growing out of efforts made by myself to convince the legislature of the necessity of investing Congress with such powers, was introduced by another member, more likely to have the ear of the legislature on the occasion, than one whose long and late service in Congress, might subject him to the suspicion of a bias in favor of that body. The journals of the session would ascertain the fact. But such has been the waste of the printed copies, that I have never been able to consult one.

I have no apology to make for the error committed by my memory,



but my consciousness, when answering your inquiry, of the active part I took in making on the legislature the impressions from which the measure resulted, and the confounding of one proposition with another, as may have happened to your own recollection of what passed.

It was my wish to have set you right on a point to which your letter seemed to attach some little interest, as soon as I discovered the error into which I had fallen. But whilst I was endeavoring to learn the most direct address, the newspapers apprised me that you had embarked for Europe. Finding that your return may be daily looked for, I lose no time in giving the proper explanation. I avail myself of the occasion to express my hopes that your trip to Europe, has answered all your purposes in making it, and to tender you assurances of my sincere esteem and friendly respects.

JAMES MADISON.

NOAH WEBSTER, Esq.

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Noah Webster's "Sketches of American Policy," the fourth and really important section of which is reprinted in the present leaflet, was published as a pamphlet in Hartford, Conn.,—"printed by Hudson and Goodwin,"—in 1785. The four sections were respectively entitled: I, Theory of Government; II, Governments on the Eastern Continent; III, American States; or the principles of the American Constitutions contrasted with those of European States; IV, Plan of Policy for improving the Advantages and perpetuating the Union of the American States. "The remarks in the first three sketches," Webster wrote to Madison in 1804, in the letter reprinted above, "are general, and some of them I now believe to be too visionary for practice; but the fourth sketch was intended expressly to urge, by all possible arguments, the necessity of a radical alteration in our system of general government, and an outline is there suggested." The "Advertisement" or preface to the pamphlet was as follows:

"Before the appearance of Dr. Price's Pamphlet, I had formed a design of publishing some Remarks on the American Constitutions and on the Federal Government. Many of my observations, particularly on religious tests and establishments, and on liberty of discussion, have been anticipated by that respectable writer, so distinguished by the justness and liberality of his sentiment, and by his attachment to America. If the following observations, thrown together in haste and without much regard to method, can have any merit, it is this, that they are dictated by an honest intention and full conviction of their truth."

The pamphlet of the famous lexicographer is now very rare. The copy in the Boston Athenæum, used in the preparation of the present leaflet, is inscribed: "The honorable Mr. Bowdoin, with the respects of the Author."

Noah Webster was born in Hartford in 1758, and was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of John Webster, one of the first settlers of Hartford and subsequently governor of Connecticut. Noah Webster's studies at Yale College were interrupted by the Revolution, and for a time he served in the field in a company commanded by his father. Graduating from Yale in 1778, he became a schoolmaster, studying law in the intervals of his regular employment and securing admission to the bar. In 1782 he began the prep-

aration of text-books for the American schools; and the results of his efforts in this field were prodigious, perhaps unparalleled in the history of American elementary education. See notes to the reprint of the history of the United States from his "American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking," in Old South Leaflet No. 198. His school-books were informed by a stalwart and ardent Americanism. He was deeply interested in our early history, and in 1790 published at his own risk the first edition of Winthrop's "History of New England." Before this he had established an *American Magazine*, but it proved an unsuccessful venture. He was from the first an active political writer, having begun to contribute political letters to the *Connecticut Courant* in Hartford as early as 1780. He was an intense Federalist in politics, as political issues shaped themselves at the close of the Revolution, although his Federalism was accompanied by a stout democratic spirit. This Federalism found its first important expression in his "Sketches of American Policy," published, as already stated, in 1785. He always claimed that this pamphlet was the first public plea for a firm national government to take the place of the Confederation; although he was acquainted with the argument of Pelatiah Webster in his pamphlet on "The Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States" (reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 186), published in 1783, to which he refers in his letter to Madison. In May, 1785, Noah Webster took a copy of his "Sketches of American Policy" personally to Washington at Mount Vernon; and there, as we learn from his letter to Madison in 1804, it was read by Madison in the ensuing summer. The earnestness and zeal which prompted Webster to the preparation of this pamphlet at the most critical point in our "critical period" were noteworthy. "As a private man, young and unknown," he wrote to Madison, "I could do but little, but that little I did."

Webster was master of an academy in Philadelphia in 1787, while the Constitutional Convention was in session, having gone to Philadelphia at the invitation of Franklin. His interest centred upon the debates of the Convention; and a month after it rose he published a popular defence of its work under the title of "An Examination of the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution." This is reprinted in Paul Leicester Ford's "Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States."

In 1794, while editing a new daily newspaper in New York in the Federalist interest, he published his important pamphlet upon "Revolution in France"; and in 1802 he published his more important pamphlet on "The Rights of Neutral Nations," embodying the results of researches which still give the pamphlet distinct value to the student of international affairs. His "Collection of Papers on Political, Literary and Moral Subjects" (1843) reprints these and other valuable political studies. To this volume and to the chapter on Webster's political writings in Horace E. Scudder's *Life of Noah Webster* the student is especially referred.

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# The History of the United States.

BY NOAH WEBSTER.

FROM WEBSTER'S "AMERICAN SELECTION OF LESSONS IN READING  
AND SPEAKING." 1790.

## *Discovery and Settlement of North America.*

Altho Columbus was the first discoverer of America, and ought to have had the honor of giving it his name, yet one Americus Vesputius, a native of Florence, who made a voyage hither some years after Columbus, gave name to this vast continent. Columbus, however, confined his discoveries to the islands in the gulf of Mexico, and to the southern continent.

1497 North America was discovered some years after Columbus's first voyage, by Sebastian Cabot, an Englishman, who obtained a commission from Henry seventh, for discovering, settling, and possessing heathen countries. The first land he made was Nova Scotia.

1538 Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland and St. Lawrence, and began the fishing trade.

1606 The first settlement of Canada, was made by Monsieur du Mont, a Frenchman. Quebec was once taken by

1629 some English adventurers; but was resigned to the French

1632 by treaty, and continued in their possession, till it was

1758 taken by the English, under the command of General Wolfe.

## VIRGINIA.

1584 The first grant of territory, within the present limits of the United States, was made to Sir Walter Raleigh. It



included all the lands, from thirty three to forty degrees of north latitude; to which he gave the name, *Virginia*, in honor of Queen Elizabeth, who was never married. This grant was vacated by Sir Walter's attainders.

*April* King James, the first, by his letters patent, divided Virginia into North and South Virginia. The latter comprehended between the thirty fourth and forty first degrees of latitude, he granted to the London company. This patent was vacated by desire of the company, and a new grant was made to them, bounded by the fortieth degree of latitude.

While the property of Virginia was in Sir Walter, he made several fruitless attempts to settle it. Nearly half the first colony was destroyed by the savages; and the rest, consumed and wore down, by fatigue and famine, returned to England in despair. The second colony was totally destroyed, probably by the savages. The third suffered a similar fate; and the fourth, quarrelling among themselves, neglecting their lands to hunt for gold, and provoking the Indians, by their insolent behavior, lost several men; and the famished remains of them would have returned home, had they not met Lord Delaware at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, with a squadron loaded with provisions for their relief. The attention which this nobleman paid to this infant settlement, will enrol his name among the founders of the western empire, and the benefactors of mankind.

1606 The first permanent settlement was made on James River, and called James Town. It is now an inconsiderable village.

#### NEW-YORK.

1608 Captain Henry Hudson, in his second voyage in search of a north west passage to the East Indies, discovered the river which takes his name. The Dutch soon after established

1614 a small factory at New-York, and another at Albany. They

kept possession about fifty years, when, upon the breaking out of the war between the English and the Dutch, King Charles the second granted to his brother James, Duke of York, the tract of land which now includes New-York, New Jersey, and part of Pennsylvania. The Duke sent a body of troops under the command of Sir Robert Carr, and took possession of New-York, without much resistance. The Dutch, by way of reprisal, took the English settlement in Surinam. They afterwards conquered New-York; but at the treaty of peace, signed at Breda, it was

1667 ceded to the English in exchange for Surinam, and continued an English government till the late revolution.

#### NEW-ENGLAND.

1602 Before the settlement of Virginia, or of New-York, Captain Gosnold had explored the Eastern shore of New-England: He discovered and gave name to Elizabeth's Island and Martha's Vineyard, in Boston bay. When King James divided Virginia, by his letters patent, the territory between the thirty eighth and 1620 forty fifth degrees of latitude, was called *North Virginia*.

Several years afterwards, he incorporated a number of persons, among whom, were the Duke of Lenox, the Marquisses of Buckingham and Hamilton, and the Earls of Arundle and Warwick, by the name of the "Council established at Plymouth." To this company, he made an absolute grant of all the lands in America, between the fortieth and forty eighth degrees of north latitude, throughout the main land, from sea to sea; excepting only such lands as were at that time, actually possessed by some other christian prince or state.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

The same year in which this grant was made, a number of Puritans, who had experienced some severities from the intolerant spirit of James and Archbishop Laud, sought a retreat in the wilds of America. They, to the number of one hundred and one, arrived in the month of November, and seated themselves at Plymouth, in Massachusetts bay. Here they suffered all the inconveniences of cold, poverty and sickness. Many of them died, during the winter; but the free enjoyment of their religion, reconciled the survivors to their new situation. They bore their hardships with unexampled patience, and, by their industry, soon procured a comfortable subsistence.

Within eight years from the first planting of Plymouth, the colony had become respectable, by new emigrations from England.

\*1627 They proceeded to enlarge their settlements, and built †1630 Salem\* and Boston.† These settlements were made in

consequence of a grant from the Plymouth company, to Henry Roswel, Sir John Young and others, of all that part of New-England, which lies between a line drawn three miles north of Merrimac river, and another drawn three miles south of

Charles river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. These were the ancient limits of Massachusetts bay. In the year following, this grant was confirmed by Charles the first.

#### CONNECTICUT.

1631 Three years after, Robert, Earl of Warwick, President of the council of Plymouth, granted to Lord Say, and Seal, to Lord Brook and others, a tract of land extending from Narraganset river, forty leagues on the sea coast; and thence, through the main land, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea. This is the first grant of Connecticut. Smaller grants, from the first patentees, were afterwards made to particular people; in consequence of which Mr. Fenwick made a settlement at the mouth of  
1634 Connecticut river, and gave it the name of Saybrook, in honor of the Lords Say and Seal, and Brook. Soon after  
1636 Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker left Massachusetts Bay, and settled Hartford, near which had been a small Dutch settlement, the remains of which are still to be seen, on the bank of Connecticut river. The following year Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport seated themselves at New Haven. Connecticut and New-Haven were separate governments, till the reign of Charles  
1662 the second; when by agreement they were both incorporated, by the name of "the Governor and Company  
Ap. 23 of Connecticut." The charter by which these colonies were united, still continues to be the basis of their government.

#### RHODE-ISLAND.

Notwithstanding the Puritans, who settled New-England, fled from their native country to avoid persecution, yet they possessed the same persecuting spirit themselves. This spirit discovered  
1634 itself by the banishing of the Quakers and Anabaptists from Boston, who retired southward and built the town of Providence. These peaceable people, driven by the cruel and sanguinary rigor of the Puritans, to seek a refuge abroad, extended their settlements to Rhode-Island, and in the reign of  
1674 Charles the second, obtained a charter which continues to be the constitution of the state.



## NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

1621 Soon after the settlement of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, Captain John Mason, obtained from the council, a grant of land, from the river Naumkeag, now Salem, round Cape Ann, to Merrimac river, and from the Sea to the heads of those rivers; with the islands lying within three miles of the coast. This district was called *Marianna*. The next year, another grant was made to Mason and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, jointly, of the whole territory, from Merrimac to Sagadahok river, and from the ocean, to the lakes and river of Canada. This district, which includes the other, was called *Laconia*.

1623 Under the authority of this grant, a settlement was made near the mouth of Piscataqua river, at a place called Little harbor, about a mile from Portsmouth, the present capital  
1629 of New-Hampshire. Six years afterwards, a purchase was made of the natives, who gave a deed of the tract of land, lying between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers.

The same year, Mason procured a new patent, under the common seal of the council of Plymouth, of the lands between the same rivers; which patent covered the whole Indian purchase. This district is called New-Hampshire.

1641 Some years after the settlements on Piscataqua, New-Hampshire was, by agreement, united to the government of Massachusetts. It continued under this jurisdiction, till the heir of John Mason set up his claim to it, and procured a confirmation of his title. It was then separated from Massachusetts,  
1697 and erected into a distinct government. The heirs of Mason sold their title to the lands in New-Hampshire, to Samuel Allen of London, for two thousand seven hundred and  
1691 fifty pounds. This produced new controversies, concerning the property of the lands, which embroiled the province for many years.

The inhabitants, about this time, suffered extremely by the cruelty of the savages. The towns of Exeter and Dover, were frequently surprised in the night—the houses plundered and burnt—the men killed and scalped—and the women and children, either killed or led captives into the wilderness. The first settlers in other parts of New-England, were also harrassed by the Indians, at different times; and it would require volumes to enumerate their particular sufferings.

1635 The Plymouth company resigned their grant to the king;

but this resignation did not materially affect the patentees under them; as the several grants to companies and individuals, were mostly confirmed, at some subsequent period, by charters from the crown.

#### NEW-JERSEY.

It is not certain at what time the Swedes and Dutch settled *about* upon the lands about the Hudson and Delaware, but it 1614 must have been after the settlement of Virginia, and before the settlement of New-England. The claims of these nations extended from the thirty eighth to the forty first degree of latitude. To this tract of country, they gave the name of New-Netherlands. It continued in their hands till the reign of 1663 Charles the second, when it was given to the duke of York.

A part of this territory was called New-York, in honor of the duke; and the whole, as has been already mentioned, passed first by conquest, and afterwards by treaty, into the hands of the English.

That part which lies between the Hudson and the Delaware, was granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and called New-Jersey.\* The first grant, however, was merely a lease 1664 for one year. The proprietors appointed Philip Carteret 1672 the first governor, and directed the lands to be purchased of the Indians.

After the New-Netherlands had been conquered by the Dutch, 1673 and again restored to the English by treaty, the grants both of King Charles to his brother, the duke of York, and of the duke to the proprietors, were renewed. Lord Berkeley had sold his share of the territory, to John Fenwick, Esq. 1674 who soon after conveyed it to William Penn, Gawen Lawry, and Nicholas Lucas.

1676 Two years after, the proprietors divided their property, which they had before held, as joint tenants. Sir George Carteret had the east division, called East New-Jersey: Penn, Lawry, and Lucas, took the west division, called West New-Jersey. The line of division was drawn from Little Egg-Harbor, to Hudson's River, at the forty first degree of latitude. Each party gave to the other quit claim deeds of its own division.

1678 Two years after this partition, Carteret, by his last will, vested all his property in East-Jersey, in certain trustees, to be sold for the payment of his debts. The trustees conveyed

\* Or Nova Cesarea.

1682 it to twelve proprietors, who disposed of their rights at pleasure. The government continued in the proprietors,  
 1702 till the reign of Queen Ann, when it was resigned to the crown. The government was then annexed to New-York; the people chose their assemblies; but the governor of New-York, used to attend them. The government was, however, detached from that of New-York, before the late revolution, when the two Jerseys became an independent state.

A considerable part of the state, still remains in the heirs or assigns of the proprietors. New-Jersey takes its name from the island of that name in the English channel, where Sir George Carteret had considerable possessions.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

The first grant of Pennsylvania was designed by Charles the second for the famous admiral Penn, as a reward for his services.  
 1680 But the admiral dying before the grant was completed, it was made to William Penn, and included a tract of land extending from twelve miles north of New-Castle along the Delaware, to the beginning of the forty third degree of latitude, and from the Delaware, westward five degrees of longitude.

William Penn, who was distinguished as a *good* as well as a *great* man, took care to acquire the best of titles to his lands, by legal purchases from the natives, the sole proprietors of the soil. He introduced into his settlement a most liberal plan of civil and religious policy—he tolerated all religious sects, and thus invited not only his own sect, the *Friends*, to remove from England, but also vast numbers of all denominations from Ireland and Germany.

The government continued in the descendants of William Penn, till the late revolution; when the people assembled, formed a republican constitution of government, and gave the proprietors a sum of money\* in lieu of all quit rents.

In one century from the date of the charter of Pennsylvania, its inhabitants amounted to almost four hundred thousand souls. Its situation is favorable for commerce, and it has the singular felicity of being peopled principally by Quakers and Germans, whose habits of industry and frugality are adapted to the accumulation of wealth.

\* 130,000 l. sterl.



## DELAWARE.

The Swedes and Dutch were among the first settlers in North America. They had planted themselves on the banks of the Delaware, many years before Wm. Penn obtained his grant, and their descendants remain there to this day. Their settlements were comprehended in the grant to the Duke of York; and when Wm. Penn came to take possession of his lands in America, he purchased the three counties, now state of Delaware, of the Duke, and united them to his government. They were afterwards, separated, in some measure, from Pennsylvania. They had their own assemblies, but the Governor of Pennsylvania used to attend, as he did in his own proper government. At the late revolution, the three counties were erected into a sovereign state.

## MARYLAND.

1632 During the reign of Charles the first, Lord Baltimore applied for a patent of lands in Virginia, and obtained a grant of a tract upon Chesapeek Bay, containing nearly one hundred and forty miles square. This tract was named *Maryland*, in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria.

Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and, with a number of that denomination, began a settlement in Maryland. The rigor of the laws in England, against this religion, drove many of the best families from that country, and greatly promoted the settlement of Maryland.

Lord Baltimore procured an act of assembly, giving free liberty for all denominations of christians to enjoy their religious opinions. But, upon the revolution in England, the penal laws against the Catholics, were extended to the settlements in Maryland; and the Episcopal Church was established, both here and in Virginia. This establishment continued till the late revolution.

Maryland was a proprietary government, and at the commencement of the late war, was in the hands of Lord Harford, a natural son of the late Lord Baltimore. But upon the revolution in America, the people assembled and formed a constitution of civil government, similar to those of the other states.

Lord Harford was an absentee during the war, and his property was confiscated. Since the war, he has applied to the legislature for his estate, but could not obtain even a compensation, or the quit rents which were due before the commencement of the war.

## THE CAROLINAS.

The French, under the direction of Admiral Chastillon, made an early discovery on the southern coast of North America. They first landed near the river, now called Albemarle, in North Carolina; but not being in a situation to establish a settlement, they returned to France.

The admiral, pleased with the account they gave of the country, 1564 fitted out a small fleet, with about five hundred men, to begin a colony where their countrymen had landed on their first expedition. Here they built a fort, called Fort Charles; and in honor of Charles the ninth, then king of France, they called the whole country *Carolina*. But the Spaniards obtained information of their proceedings, and sent a body of troops, which reduced the colony, and put the people to the sword.

No further attempts to effect a settlement here, were made by the French; nor were any attempts made by the English, until Sir Walter Raleigh projected an establishment on this coast.\*

about In the reign of Charles the second, the earl of Clarendon, 1663 the duke of Albemarle, and others, obtained a grant of the lands between the thirty first and thirty sixth degrees of latitude; they were constituted lords proprietors, and invested with powers to settle and govern the country.

They began a settlement between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and called it Charleston. The model of a constitution, and the body of laws, which they introduced, were framed by the celebrated Mr. Locke.

This constitution was aristocratical; establishing orders of nobility. The Landgraves, or first rank, had forty eight thousand acres of land—the Cassques, or second order, had twenty four thousand acres—the Barons, or lower rank, had twelve thousand acres.

The lower house was to be composed of representatives, chosen by the towns or counties, and the whole legislature was denominated, a *parliament*. The lords proprietors stood in the place of *king*.

They gave unlimited toleration of religion, but the Episcopalians, who were the most numerous, attempted to exclude the dissenters from a place in the legislature. This produced tumults and disorder among the settlers, and finally between the people and the lords proprietors.

\* Sir Walter's attempts, it is said, were made within the present limits of North Carolina.

These dissensions checked the progress of the settlement, and induced the parliament of England to take the province under her immediate care. The proprietors accepted about twenty four thousand pounds sterling for their property and jurisdiction; except the earl Granville, who kept his eighth of the property.

1728 The constitution was new modelled, and the district divided into North and South Carolina. These remained separate royal governments, till they became independent by the late revolution.

#### GEORGIA.\*

1732 The whole territory between the rivers, Savannah and Altamaha, was vested, by the parliament of Great Britain, in trustees, who were to promote a settlement of the country.

Mr. Oglethorpe was appointed the first governor, and he began a settlement on Savannah river, with about a hundred and sixteen poor people. But the original plan of settlement was extremely injudicious, and could not fail to disappoint the expectations of the projectors.

The grant to the trustees was therefore revoked, and the province erected into a royal government. It had just begun to recover from the low state, to which it had been reduced by the narrow policy of the English government, when the late war commenced. Georgia contains vast tracts of valuable land—its present government is liberal—and the settlement of it, by emigrations from other states, is uncommonly rapid.

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#### *A Sketch of the History of the Late War in America.*

The attempts of the British parliament to raise a revenue in America, without her consent, occasioned the late war, which separated this country from Great Britain.

The first attempt of consequence was the famous *Stamp Act*, March, 1765. By this, the Americans were obliged to make use of stamped paper, for all notes, bonds, and other legal instruments; on which paper a duty was to be paid.

This act occasioned such general uneasiness in America, that the parliament thought proper to repeal it the year after it was made.

\* Georgia was so named in honor of George the second.



But the next year (1767) the *Tea Act* was framed, by which a heavy duty was laid upon tea, glass, paper, and many other articles, which were much used in America. This threw the colonies into confusion, and excited such resentment among the people, that the parliament, three years after, took off three fourths of the duty.

The duty was still disagreeable to the Americans, who entered into resolutions not to import and consume British manufactures.

A few years after (in 1773) the people of Boston, who were determined not to pay duties on tea, went on board some ships, belonging to the East India company, which lay in the harbour, and threw all the tea overboard. In other parts of America, violent opposition was made to British taxation.

This opposition enkindled the resentment of the British parliament, which they expressed the next year (1774) by shutting the port of Boston, which ruined the trade of that flourishing town. This act was followed by others, by which the constitution of Massachusetts was new modelled, and the liberties of the people infringed.

These rash and cruel measures, gave great and universal alarm to the Americans. General Gage was sent to Boston, to enforce the new laws; but he was received with coldness, and opposed with spirit in the execution of his commission.

The assemblies throughout America, remonstrated and petitioned. At the same time many contributions of money and provisions from every quarter, were sent to the inhabitants of Boston, who were suffering in consequence of the port bill.

The same year, troops arrived in Boston, to enforce the wicked and unjust acts of the British parliament. Fortifications were erected on Boston neck, by order of General Gage; and the ammunition and stores in Cambridge and Charlestown were seized and secured.

In September, deputies from most of the colonies, met in Congress at Philadelphia. These delegates approved of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts; wrote a letter to General Gage; published a declaration of rights; formed an association not to import, or use British goods; sent a petition to the king of Great Britain; an address to the inhabitants of that kingdom; another to the inhabitants of Canada; and another to the inhabitants of the colonies.

In the beginning of the next year (1775) was passed the *Fishery Bill*, by which the Northern colonies were forbid to fish on the

banks of Newfoundland, for a certain time. This bore hard upon the commerce of these colonies, which was in a great measure supported by the fishery.

Soon after, another bill was passed, which restrained the trade of the middle and southern colonies, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, except under certain conditions. These repeated acts of oppression on the part of Great Britain, alienated the affections of America from her parent and sovereign, and produced a combined opposition to the whole system of taxation.

Preparations began to be made, to oppose by force, the execution of these acts of parliament. The militia of the country were trained to the use of arms—great encouragement was given for the manufacture of gunpowder, and measures were taken to obtain all kinds of military stores.

In February, Colonel Leslie was sent with a detachment of troops from Boston, to take possession of some cannon at Salem. But the people had intelligence of the design—took up the draw bridge in that town, and prevented the troops from passing, until the cannon were secured; so that the expedition failed.

In April, Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn, were sent with a body of troops, to destroy the military stores which had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. At Lexington, the militia were collected on a green, to oppose the incursion of the British forces. These were fired upon by the British troops, and eight men killed on the spot.

The militia were dispersed, and the troops proceeded to Concord; where they destroyed a few stores. But on their return, they were incessantly harrassed by the Americans, who, inflamed with just resentment, fired upon them from houses and fences, and pursued them to Boston.

Here was spilt the *first blood* in the late war; a war which severed America from the British empire. *Lexington* opened the first scene of the great drama, which, in its progress, exhibited the most illustrious characters and events, and closed with a revolution, equally glorious for the actors, and important in its consequences to the human race.

✓ This battle roused all America. The militia collected from all quarters, and Boston was in a few days besieged by twenty thousand men. A stop was put to all intercourse between the town and country, and the inhabitants were reduced to great want of provisions.

General Gage promised to let the people depart, if they would

deliver up their arms. The people complied, but when the General had obtained their arms, the perfidious wretch refused to let the people go.

In the mean time, a small number of men, under the command of Colonel Allen, and Colonel Easton, without any public orders, surprized and took the British garrison at Ticonderoga, without the loss of a man.

In June following, our troops attempted to fortify Bunker's hill, which lies in Charlestown, and but a mile and a half from Boston. They had, during the night, thrown up a small breast work, which sheltered them from the fire of the British cannon.

But the next morning, the British army was sent to drive them from the hill, and landing under cover of their cannon, they set fire to Charlestown, which was consumed, and marched to attack our troops in the entrenchments. A severe engagement ensued, in which the British suffered a very great loss, both of officers and privates.

They were repulsed at first, and thrown into disorder; but they finally carried the fortification with the point of the bayonet. The Americans suffered a small loss, compared with the British; but the death of the brave General Warren, who fell in the action, a martyr to the cause of his country, was severely felt, and universally lamented.

About this time, the Continental Congress appointed George Washington, Esq. a native of Virginia, to the chief command of the American army. This gentleman had been a distinguished and successful officer in the preceding war, and he seemed destined by heaven to be the saviour of his country.

He accepted the appointment with a diffidence which was a proof of his prudence and his greatness. He refused any pay for eight years laborious and arduous service; and by his matchless skill, fortitude and perseverance, conducted America through indescribable difficulties to independence and peace.

While true merit is esteemed, or virtue honoured, mankind will never cease to revere the memory of this Hero; And while gratitude remains in the human breast, the praises of WASHINGTON shall dwell on every American tongue.

Gen. Washington, with other officers appointed by Congress, arrived at Cambridge, and took command of the American army in July. From this time, the affairs of America began to assume the appearance of a regular and general opposition to the forces of Great Britain.



In Autumn, a body of troops, under the command of Gen. Montgomery, besieged and took the garrison at St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada. The prisoners amounted to about seven hundred. Gen. Montgomery pursued his success and took Montreal; and designed to push his victories to Quebec.

A body of troops, commanded by Arnold, was ordered to march to Canada, by the river Kennebek, and through the wilderness. After suffering every hardship, and the most distressing hunger, they arrived in Canada, and were joined by Gen. Montgomery, before Quebec. This city, which was commanded by Gov. Carleton, was immediately besieged. But there being little hope of taking the town by a siege, it was determined to storm it.

The attack was made on the last day of December, but proved unsuccessful, and fatal to the brave General, who, with his Aid, was killed, in attempting to scale the walls.

Of the three divisions which attacked the town, one only entered, and that was obliged to surrender to superior force. After this defeat, Arnold, who now commanded the troops, continued some months before Quebec, although his troops suffered incredibly by cold and sickness. But the next spring, the Americans were obliged to retreat from Canada.

About this time the large and flourishing town of Norfolk in Virginia was wantonly burnt, by order of Lord Dunmore, the royal governor.

Gen. Gage went to England in September, and was succeeded in the command by Gen. Howe.

Falmouth, a considerable town in the province of Maine, in Massachusetts, shared the fate of Norfolk; being laid in ashes by order of the British admiral.

The British king entered into treaties with some of the German princes for about seventeen thousand men, who were to be sent to America the next year, to assist in subduing the colonies. The British parliament also passed an act, forbidding all intercourse with America; and while they repealed the Boston port and fishery bills, they declared all American property on the high seas, forfeited to the captors.

This act induced Congress to change the mode of carrying on the war; and measures were taken to annoy the enemy in Boston. For this purpose batteries were opened on several hills; from whence shot and bombs were thrown into the town. But the batteries which were opened on Dorchester point had the best

effect, and soon obliged General Howe to abandon the town. In March, 1776, the British troops embarked for Halifax, and General Washington entered the town in triumph.

In the ensuing summer, a small squadron of ships, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and a body of troops under the Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, attempted to take Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. The ships made a violent attack upon the fort on Sullivan's Island, but were repulsed with great loss, and the expedition was abandoned.

In July, Congress published their declaration of Independence, which forever separated America from Great Britain. This great event took place two hundred and eighty four years after the first discovery of America by Columbus—one hundred and seventy, from the first effectual settlement in Virginia—and one hundred and fifty six from the first settlement of Plymouth in Massachusetts, which were the earliest English settlements in America.

Just after this declaration, General Howe, with a powerful force, arrived near New York; and landed the troops upon Staten Island. General Washington was in New York with about thirteen thousand men, encamped either in the city, or the neighbouring fortifications.

The operations of the British began by the action on Long Island, in the month of August. The Americans were defeated, and General Sullivan and Lord Stirling, with a large body of men, were made prisoners. The night after the engagement, a retreat was ordered and executed with such silence, that the Americans left the island without alarming their enemies, and without loss.

In September the city of New York was abandoned by the American army, and taken by the British.

In November, Fort Washington, on York Island, was taken, and more than two thousand men made prisoners. Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington, on the Jersey shore, was soon after taken, but the garrison escaped.

About the same time, General Clinton was sent with a body of troops to take possession of Rhode Island; and succeeded. In addition to all these losses and defeats, the American army suffered by desertion, and more by sickness, which was epidemic, and very mortal.

The northern army at Ticonderoga, was in a disagreeable situation, particularly after the battle on lake Champlain, in which the American force, consisting of a few light vessels, under

the command of Arnold and General Waterbury, was totally dispersed.

But General Carleton, instead of pursuing his victory, landed at Crown Point, reconnoitered our posts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and returned to winter quarters in Canada.

At the close of this year, the American army was dwindled to a handful of men; and Gen. Lee was taken prisoner in New Jersey. Far from being discouraged at these losses, Congress took measures to raise and establish an army.

In this critical situation, General Washington surprised and took a large body of Hessians, who were cantoned at Trenton; and soon after, another body of the British troops at Princeton.

The address in planning and executing these enterprizes, reflected the highest honor on the commander, and the success revived the desponding hopes of America. The loss of General Mercer, a gallant officer, at Princeton, was the principal circumstance that allayed the joys of victory.

The following year (1777) was distinguished by very memorable events in favor of America. On the opening of the campaign, Governor Tryon was sent with a body of troops to destroy the stores at Danbury in Connecticut. This plan was executed, and the town mostly burnt. The enemy suffered in their retreat, and the Americans lost General Wooster, a brave and experienced officer.

General Prescott was taken from his quarters on Rhode Island, by the address and enterprise of Col. Barton, and conveyed prisoner to the continent.

General Burgoyne, who commanded the northern British army, took possession of Ticonderoga, which had been abandoned by the Americans. He pushed his successes, crossed Lake George, and encamped upon the banks of the Hudson, near Saratoga.

His progress however was checked by the defeat of Colonel Baum, near Bennington, in which the undisciplined militia of Vermont, under General Stark, displayed unexampled bravery, and captured almost the whole detachment.

The militia assembled from all parts of New England to stop the progress of General Burgoyne. These, with the regular troops, formed a respectable army, commanded by General Gates.

After two severe actions, in which the Generals Lincoln and Arnold, behaved with uncommon gallantry, and were wounded, Gen. Burgoyne found himself inclosed with brave troops, and



was forced to surrender his whole army, amounting to ten thousand men, into the hands of the Americans. This happened in October.

This event diffused a universal joy over America, and laid a foundation for the treaty with France.

But before these transactions, the main body of the British forces had embarked at New York, sailed up the Chesapeake, and landed at the head of Elk river. The army soon began their march for Philadelphia. General Washington had determined to oppose them, and for this purpose made a stand upon the heights, near Brandywine Creek.

Here the armies engaged, and the Americans were overpowered, and suffered great loss. The enemy soon pursued their march, and took possession of Philadelphia towards the close of September.

Not long after, the two armies were again engaged at Germantown, and in the beginning of the action the Americans had the advantage; but by some unlucky accident, the fortune of the day was turned in favor of the British. Both sides suffered considerable losses; on the side of the Americans, was General Nash.

In an attack upon the forts at Mud Island and Red Bank, the Hessians were unsuccessful, and their commander, Col. Donop, killed. The British also lost the *Augusta*, a ship of the line. But the forts were afterwards taken, and the navigation of the Delaware opened. General Washington was reinforced, with part of the troops which had composed the northern army, under General Gates; and both armies retired to winter quarters.

In October, the same month in which General Burgoyne was taken at Saratoga, Gen. Vaughan, with a small fleet, sailed up Hudson's river, and wantonly burnt Kingston, a beautiful Dutch settlement on the west side of the river.

The beginning of the next year (1778) was distinguished by a treaty of alliance between France and America; by which we obtained a powerful and generous ally.

When the English ministry were informed that this treaty was on foot, they dispatched commissioners to America, to attempt a reconciliation. But America would not now accept their offers. Early in the spring, Count de Estaing, with a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, was sent by the court of France to assist America.

General Howe left the army and returned to England; the command then devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton. In June the British army left Philadelphia, and marched for New York.

On their march they were annoyed by the Americans; and at Monmouth a very regular action took place between part of the armies; the enemy was repulsed with great loss; and had General Lee obeyed his orders, a signal victory must have been obtained. General Lee, for his ill conduct that day, was suspended, and was never afterwards permitted to join the army.

In August, General Sullivan, with a large body of troops, attempted to take possession of Rhode Island, but did not succeed. Soon after, the stores and shipping at Bedford, in Massachusetts, were burnt by a party of British troops. The same year, Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was taken by the British, under the command of Colonel Campbell.

In the following year (1779) General Lincoln was appointed to the command of the southern army.

Governor Tryon and Sir George Collier made an incursion into Connecticut, and burnt, with wanton barbarity, the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk.

But the American arms were crowned with success in a bold attack upon Stoney Point, which was surprised and taken by General Wayne, in the night of the 15th of July. Five hundred men were made prisoners, with a small loss on either side.

A party of British forces attempted this summer, to build a fort on Penobscot river, for the purpose of cutting timber in the neighbouring forests. A plan was laid, by Massachusetts, to dislodge them, and a considerable fleet collected for the purpose. But the plan failed of success, and the whole marine force fell into the hands of the British, except some vessels, which were burnt by the Americans themselves.

In October, General Lincoln and Count de Estaing made an assault upon Savannah; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. In this action, the celebrated Polish Count Pulaski, who had acquired the reputation of a brave soldier, was mortally wounded.

In this summer, General Sullivan marched with a body of troops, into the Indian country, and burnt and destroyed all their provisions and settlements that fell in their way.

On the opening of the campaign, the next year (1780) the British troops left Rhode Island. An expedition under General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, was undertaken against Charleston, South Carolina, where General Lincoln commanded. This town, after a close siege of about six weeks, was surrendered to the British commander; and General Lincoln, and the whole American garrison, were made prisoners.

General Gates was appointed to the command in the southern department, and another army collected. In August, Lord Cornwallis attacked the American troops at Camden, in South Carolina, and routed them with considerable loss. He afterwards marched thro the southern states, and supposed them entirely subdued.

The same summer, the British troops made frequent incursions from New York into the Jersies; ravaging and plundering the country. In some of these descents, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, a respectable clergyman and warm patriot, and his lady, were inhumanly murdered by the savage soldiery.

In July, a French fleet, under Monsieur de Ternay, with a body of land forces, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island, to the great joy of the Americans.

This year was also distinguished by the infamous treason of Arnold. General Washington having some business to transact at Weathersfield, in Connecticut, left Arnold to command the important post of West Point, which guards a pass in Hudson's river, about sixty miles from New York. Arnold's conduct in the city of Philadelphia, the preceding winter, had been censured; and the treatment he received in consequence, had given him offence.

He determined to take revenge; and for this purpose he entered into a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton to deliver West Point, and the army, into the hands of the British. While General Washington was absent, he dismounted the cannon in some of the forts, and took other steps to render the taking of the post easy for the enemy.

But by a providential discovery, the whole plan was defeated. Major Andre, aid to General Clinton, a brave officer, who had been sent up the river as a spy, to concert the plan of operations with Arnold, was taken, condemned by a court martial, and executed.

Arnold made his escape by getting on board the *Vulture*, a British vessel, which lay in the river. His conduct has stamped him with infamy; and like all traitors, he is despised by all mankind. General Washington arrived in camp just after Arnold had made his escape, and restored order in the garrison.

After the defeat of General Gates in Carolina, General Greene was appointed to the command in the southern department. From this period, things in that quarter wore a more favourable aspect. Colonel Tarleton, the active commander of the British



legion, was defeated by General Morgan, the intrepid commander of the rifle men.

After a variety of movements, the two armies met at Guilford, in North Carolina. Here was one of the best fought actions during the war. General Greene and Lord Cornwallis exerted themselves at the head of their respective armies, and altho the Americans were obliged to retire from the field of battle, yet the British army suffered an immense loss, and could not pursue the victory. This action happened on the 15th of March, 1781.

In the spring, Arnold, who was made a Brigadier General in the British service, with a small number of troops sailed for Virginia, and plundered the country. This called the attention of the French fleet to that quarter; and a naval engagement took place between the English and French, in which some of the English ships were much damaged, and one entirely disabled.

After the battle at Guilford, General Greene moved towards South Carolina, to drive the British from their posts in that state. Here Lord Rawdon obtained an inconsiderable advantage over the Americans, near Camden.

But General Greene more than recovered this disadvantage, by the brilliant and successful action at the Eutaw Springs; where General Marian distinguished himself, and the brave Col. Washington was wounded and taken prisoner.

Lord Cornwallis, finding General Greene successful in Carolina, marched to Virginia, collected his forces, and fortified himself in Yorktown. In the mean time Arnold made an incursion into Connecticut, burnt a part of New-London, took Fort Griswold by storm, and put the garrison to the sword.

The garrison consisted chiefly of men suddenly collected from the little town of Groton, which, by the savage cruelty of the British officer who commanded the attack, lost, in one hour, almost all its heads of families. The brave colonel Ledyard, who commanded the fort, was slain with his own sword, after he had surrendered.

The Marquis de la Fayette, the brave and generous nobleman, whose services command the gratitude of every American, had been dispatched from the main army, to watch the motions of lord Cornwallis in Virginia.

About the last of August, Count de Grasse arrived with a large fleet in the Chesapeake, and blocked up the British troops at Yorktown. Admiral Greaves, with a British fleet, appeared off the Capes, and an action succeeded, but it was not decisive.

General Washington had, before this time, moved the main body of his army, together with the French troops, to the southward; and as soon as he heard of the arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeake, he made rapid marches to the head of Elk, where embarking, the troops, soon arrived at Yorktown.

A close siege immediately commenced, and was carried on with such vigor, by the combined forces of America and France, that Lord Cornwallis was obliged to surrender. This glorious event, which took place on the 19th of October, 1781, decided the contest in favour of America, and laid the foundation of a general peace.

A few months after the surrender of Cornwallis, the British evacuated all their posts in South Carolina and Georgia, and retired to the main army in New York.

The next spring (1782) Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York, and took command of the British army in America. Immediately after his arrival, he acquainted General Washington and Congress, that negotiations for a peace had been commenced at Paris.

On the 30th of November, 1782, the provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris, by which, Great Britain acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America.

Thus ended a long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended near an hundred millions of money, with an hundred thousand lives, and won nothing. America endured every cruelty and distress from her enemies; lost many lives and much treasure—but delivered herself from a foreign dominion, and gained a rank among the nations of the earth.

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WEBSTER'S "GRAMMATICAL INSTITUTE."—FROM HORACE E. SCUDDER'S  
LIFE OF NOAH WEBSTER.

"In the year 1782, while the American army was lying on the bank of the Hudson, I kept a classical school in Goshen, Orange County, State of New York. I there compiled two small elementary books for teaching the English language. The country was then impoverished, intercourse with Great Britain was interrupted, school-books were scarce and hardly attainable, and there was no certain prospect of peace."

These words have doubtless a familiar sound to the reader. They form the phrases which Webster never wearied of repeating, and whenever he had occasion to refer to the beginning of his literary career he fell naturally into this paragraph. It became a formula for the expression of a fact which was embedded in his mind as a stone marking a point of departure. There is a consciousness in it of the beginning of a great enterprise, and certainly, when one considers the immense stream which has flowed from this little rill, he may seriously stand and gaze at the young schoolmaster and his two small elementary books. The modesty of the statement agrees



with the size of the books, but not with the expansiveness of the composite title. The work projected by Webster was "A Grammatical Institute of the English Language, comprising an Easy, Concise, and Systematic Method of Education, designed for the Use of English Schools in America." The "Institute" was to be in three parts, which were, in brief, a speller, a grammar, and a reader. The formal and dignified title of the work was the tribute which Webster paid to old-fashioned scholarship; and it is curious to see the evolution by which it finally became the well-known "Elementary." One or two ideas were working their way out in Webster's mind. In the first place he did not like the book generally in use, "Dilworth's New Guide to the English Tongue"; then he saw, with more or less clearness, that in the separation from England that was fast taking place, the people in America must necessarily have their own school-books, and his mind ran forward even to a belief in a distinct and separate literature and a considerable difference in language. Yet at this time I am not sure that he appreciated the pregnant truth, so familiar to us now, of a vital connection between popular education and popular sovereignty. He began to see it, and was influenced by it; but his work was mightier than he then knew, for he had not been educated in a free republic. . . .

The third part of "A Grammatical Institute" bore the sub-title: "An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking; calculated to improve the Minds and refine the Taste of Youth, and also to instruct them in the Geography, History, and Politics of the United States. To which are prefixed Rules in Elocution, and Directions for expressing the Principal Passions of the Mind." This laboriously emphatic title-page bears the motto from Mirabeau: "Begin with the infant in his cradle; let the first word he lisps be Washington." In strict accordance with this patriotic sentiment, the compiler gives a series of lessons which would not be inappropriate to any girl or boy who in infancy had performed the feat of lisping the easy-going name which Mirabeau himself probably had some difficulty in conquering. "In the choice of pieces," says Webster in his preface, "I have been attentive to the political interests of America. I consider it as a capital fault in all our schools that the books generally used contain subjects wholly uninteresting to our youth; while the writings that marked the Revolution, which are perhaps not inferior to the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, and which are calculated to impress interesting truths upon young minds, lie neglected and forgotten. Several of those masterly addresses of Congress, written at the commencement of the late Revolution, contain such noble sentiments of liberty and patriotism that I cannot help wishing to transfuse them into the breasts of the rising generation." Accordingly, he makes abundant room in his book for orations by Hancock, Warren, Livingston, and Joel Barlow, and for poetry by Freneau, Dwight, Barlow, and Livingston again, all kept in countenance by Cicero, Publius Scipio, Shakespeare, and Pope, while a tribute is paid to "Mr. Andrus of Yale College, since deceased," by the insertion of "A Dialogue written in the year 1776." . . . To plump from Joel Barlow at the North Church in Hartford, July 4, 1787, to a portion of Cicero's oration against Verres, probably produced no severe shock, since both orations were intended as exercises in speaking, and the former by its structure was removed to about the same chronological distance from the young speaker as the latter. . . .

The judgment with which Webster made his reading selections largely from American sources was not the result of a mere Anglophobia. It was



the product of an ardent, hopeful patriotism trained within narrow provincial bounds. Webster was not old enough to have been much under the impression of the English rule in America, and his days had been spent in farming villages where the traditions were little affected by foreign life or in a college which jumped over intermediate centuries to find models in Roman antiquity. His education, meaning by that the cultivation of his powers by what were literary or circumstantial influences, had made him quite exclusively an American and a republican; when he began to give expression, therefore, to his mind, he was unimpeded and unstimulated by anything outside of the horizon of his frugal life; he was not so much opposed to foreign culture as he was absolutely ignorant of it; and in his career we are called upon to observe the growth of a mind as nearly native as was possible. If I am not mistaken, that which was Webster's weakness as an individual man was his strength as the pioneer of education in a new country.

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Noah Webster was born in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1758, began the study of the classics in 1772 under the instruction of the clergyman of the parish, and in 1774 was admitted a member of Yale College, graduating with reputation in 1778. His father then gave him \$8 in the continental currency, and told him that he must thenceforth rely on his own exertion for support. He at once resorted to school-teaching, studying law in the intervals of his regular employment, and being admitted to the bar in 1781. In 1782, as stated above, he was teaching a classical school at Goshen, in Orange County, New York; and here, impressed by the poor character of the school books of the country, he was prompted to his work of preparing better books, which work he carried on for years with such momentous results. Having prepared the first draught of his plan, he made a journey to Philadelphia to confer about it with several members of Congress, among them James Madison, and other scholars, among them Professor Smith of Princeton College, afterwards president of the college, who encouraged him in his design. In 1783 he returned to Hartford, where he published his Spelling-book, the first part of his "Grammatical Institute of the English Language"; and the second and third parts, the grammar and the reader, were published in the years immediately following. They were gradually introduced into most of the schools in the country; and the Spelling-book especially had so large a circulation that during the twenty years in which Webster was engaged upon the preparation of his American Dictionary the entire support of his family was derived from the copyright (of less than a cent a copy) upon that work. Twenty-four million copies had been sold up to the year 1847, when Chauncey A. Goodrich wrote the memoir of Webster which is usually prefixed to the Dictionary; and the demand at that time had for some years averaged a million copies a year.

The second chapter of Horace E. Scudder's *Life of Noah Webster* is devoted to "The Grammatical Institute," and gives a good account of its three parts, to each of which a volume was devoted. The section on the "Lessons in Reading and Speaking" from Scudder's chapter is largely reprinted above. It is from this volume that two of the three chapters devoted to American history given in the present leaflet are taken: the earlier chapter is devoted to the history of Columbus. The volume also contains a chapter upon the Geography of the United States; and among the selections for speaking are the orations of Warren and Hancock upon the Boston massacre, the first petition of Congress to the king in 1774, and the declaration of Congress in 1775 setting forth the causes of taking up arms. The book altogether is instinct with energetic Americanism; and it was from its pages that the pupils of our American common schools chiefly learned their American history for more than a generation. The first edition was meagre upon this historical side. It was in 1790 that the history of the settlement of the United States, reprinted in the present leaflet, and some geographical descriptions were added. It is from the edition of that year, the first edition published in Boston, by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer Andrews, that the sections in the present leaflet are reprinted. The rare copy used is loaned us for this purpose by Mr. George A. Plimpton, of New York, whose collection of old school books is perhaps the largest and completest in America. Messrs.

Thomas and Andrews introduced their edition of 1790 with the following "advertisement":

"The introduction of Webster's Institute into all the Public Schools in the town of Boston, with the increasing demand for them in the country, added to the circumstance of its being the only complete System of School Education ever published by an American author, has induced the subscribers to purchase the exclusive right of printing all the Three Parts of said Institute, in the States of Massachusetts, Newhampshire and Rhodeisland, for the term of fourteen years. Correct editions of all Three Parts, with Alterations and Amendments by the Author, are published and ready for sale; and care will be taken that all future editions of Webster's Institute, published by us, shall be correct, and page for page with each other, that they may be used together in a class."

Webster's devotion to the promotion of the study of American history in the schools continued unremitting. In his "Elements of Useful knowledge," in three volumes, published about twenty years after the first appearance of the "Institute," he incorporated the historical chapters substantially as they are given in the present leaflet, together with other chapters, a general description of the United States, the Constitution, and Washington's Farewell Address. He speaks in the preface of his having consulted the most authentic histories and documents which were available, with a view to the utmost accuracy. The inaccuracy in our early text-books is illustrated by the many incorrect dates, etc., in the historical chapters reprinted in the present leaflet. We need to remember that this was a time when the many original documents now so common were rare, and when many such simple facts as that concerning the original home of the Pilgrim Fathers in England were still unknown; but still it is surprising to find wrong dates given for such events as the settlement of Jamestown and the battle of Quebec, and to read of Gosnold's discovery of "Elizabeth's Island and Martha's Vineyard in Boston bay." About 1830 Webster revised and expanded his history of the United States, greatly improving it and prefixing "a brief account of our English ancestors and the conquest of South America by the Spaniards," and published it as a separate little volume. It was illustrated by rude wood-cuts; and it had a great circulation. Thousands of American boys and girls learned their American history chiefly from this little volume. Indeed, the obligation of our common schools to Noah Webster for his early work in promoting the study of our history is incalculable. For further information concerning his educational work see the Life by Scudder and the notes to Old South Leaflets Nos. 196 and 197, both devoted to Noah Webster.

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## Lord Chatham's Speeches on the American Revolution.

SPEECH ON THE STAMP ACT, JANUARY 14, 1766.

"Sir, I came to town but to-day; I was a stranger to the tenor of his Majesty's speech, and the proposed address till I heard them read in this House. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address." The address being read, Mr. Pitt went on. "He commended the King's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of; an *early* is a word that does not belong to the notice the Ministry have given to Parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance the communication ought to have been *immediate*; I speak not with respect to parties; I stand up in this place single and unconnected. As to the late Ministry [turning himself to Mr. Grenville,\* who sat within one of him,] every capital measure they took was—entirely wrong!

"As to the present gentlemen, those, at least, whom I have in my eye—[looking at the bench on which Mr. Conway† sat with the Lords of the Treasury]—I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his Majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honor to ask my poor opinion before they would engage. These will do

\* In July, 1765, Mr. George Grenville resigned, and was succeeded as first Lord of the Treasury by the Marquis of Rockingham.

† Secretary of State.



me the justice to own I advised them to engage, but notwithstanding—for I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen [bowing to the Ministry], confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom, youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence.

“There is a clause in the Act of Settlement obliging every Minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives his Sovereign. \* Would it were observed! I have had the honor to serve the Crown, and if I could have submitted to influence I might still have continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments. It is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men,—men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valor, and conquered for you in every part of the world; detested be the national reflections against them! They are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a Minister, it was not the *country* of the man † by which I was moved, but the *man* of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.

“It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it! It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom.

“I hope the day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come

\* This provision of the Act of Settlement, 12 and 13 Wm. III. cap. 2, was repealed by 4 and 5 Anne, cap. 8, sec. 25.

† Lord Bute.

to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his Majesty recommends and the importance of the subject requires. A subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House! that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were to be bond or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood,—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen [alluding to Mr. Nugent] seem to have considered it as a point of honor. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. The colonists are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy possessed the lands. In those days the Barons and the Clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The Church (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands, and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty—what? Our own property? No! We give

and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms.

“The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The Crown, the Peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown and the Peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by *power*.

“There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation were augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough?—a borough which perhaps its own representatives never saw. This is what is called *the rotten part of the constitution*. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated.\* The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of man. It does not deserve a serious refutation.

“The Commoners of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in everything except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

“Here I would draw the line,

‘Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.’”

Mr. Pitt concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. Pitt had done speaking.

Mr. Conway at length rose. He said he had been waiting to see

\* A few years afterwards Lord Chatham reproduced this image, but with a change in his opinion. In his speech, Jan. 22, 1770, he says: “The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the constitution, and, without entering into any invidious particularity, I have seen enough to justify the appellation. But, in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death.”



whether any answer would be given to what had been advanced by the Right Honorable Gentleman, reserving himself for the reply; but, as none had been given, he had only to declare that his own sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the right honorable gentleman. That they are so conformable, he said, "is a circumstance that affects me with the most sensible pleasure, and confers upon me the greatest honor. But two things fell from that gentleman which give me pain, as whatever falls from that gentleman falls from so great a height as to make a deep impression. I must endeavor to remove it. It was objected, that the notice given to Parliament of the troubles in America was not *early*. I can assure the House the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of Parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full. An overruling influence has also been hinted at. I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of it—I disclaim it for myself, and (as far as my discernment can reach) for all the rest of his Majesty's Ministers."

Mr. Pitt said, in answer to Mr. Conway: "The excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one. That must appear from the papers now before the House."

Mr. Grenville next stood up. He began with censuring the Ministry very severely for delaying to give earlier notice to Parliament of the disturbances in America. He said "they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January: lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and, if the doctrines I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and differ only in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been, exercised over those who are not, who never were, represented. It is exercised over the East India Company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the Palatinate of Chester and the Bish-  
opric of Durham before they sent any representatives to Parliament. I appeal, for proof, to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives; the one in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the other in that of Charles the Second."\* Mr. Grenville then quoted the acts, and desired that they might be read: which being done, he continued: "When I proposed to tax America, I asked the House if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain

\* Four representatives were given to the county and city of Chester, by 34 Henry VIII. cap. 13; and four to the county and city of Durham, by 25 Car. II. c. 9.

protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded to them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them its protection; and, now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, and expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honor of serving the Crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you gave bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favor, the Act of Navigation, that palladium of British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America! I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country! I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by Act of Parliament. I desire that a West India merchant well known in the city (Mr. Long), a gentleman of character, may be examined. He will tell you that I offered to do everything in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place it becomes me to wipe off the aspersion."

Here Mr. Grenville ceased. Several Members then rose to speak, amongst whom was the illustrious commoner; the House was then so clamorous for Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt, that the Speaker was obliged to call to order.

After some degree of order was enforced, Mr. Pitt began with informing the House that he did not mean to have gone any further into the subject that day; he had only designed to throw out a few hints, which gentlemen, who were so confident of the right of this kingdom to send taxes to America, might consider; they might then, perhaps, in a cooler moment, find that the right was, at least, equivocal. But since the gentleman who spoke last had not stopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole, into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the Stamp Act, as well as into the right, he would

follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point.

He was going on, when Lord Strange rose, and called both gentlemen, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grenville, to order. He said they had both departed from the matter before the House, which was the King's speech; and that Mr. Pitt was going to speak twice in the same debate, although the House was not in a committee.

Mr. George Onslow\* answered that they were both in order, as nothing had been said but what was fairly deducible from the King's speech, and appealed to the Speaker. The Speaker decided in Mr. Onslow's favor.

Mr. Pitt said: "I do not apprehend that I am speaking twice: I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this House, but I am compelled to proceed in it. I do not speak twice. I only finish what I designedly left imperfect. But, if the House is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression against order. I am content, if it be your pleasure, to be silent." Here he paused. The House resounding with, "Go on," "go on," he proceeded.

"Gentlemen, Sir (to the Speaker), I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Several have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentlemen ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to let themselves be made slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of Parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs' ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them to show that, even under arbitrary reigns, Parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales,—Wales, that never was taxed by Parliament until it was incor-

\* Afterwards Lord Onslow.



porated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman. I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But, for the defence of liberty, upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed and are not represented,—the India Company, merchants, stockholders, manufacturers. Surely, many of these are represented, in other capacities, as owners of land or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. But they are all inhabitants of this kingdom; and, as such, are they not virtually represented? Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connections with those that elect and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stockholders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as a part of the national estate. Since the accession of King William, many Ministers, some of great, others of moderate abilities, have taken the lead of Government.”

He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself, giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them. “None of these,” he said, “thought, or even dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the era of the late administration. Not that there were wanting some, when I had the honor to serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American Stamp Act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America. I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his land, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

“If the gentleman does not understand the difference between

internal and external taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although in the consequences some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

“The gentleman asks, When were the colonies emancipated? I desire to know when they were made slaves. But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honor of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office. I speak, therefore, from knowledge. My materials were good; I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm that the profits of Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, are two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then for from fifteen to eighteen years’ purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price America pays for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the Exchequer by the loss of millions to the nation! \* I dare not say how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the emigration from every part of Europe, I am convinced that the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, and you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent in favor of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of Parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong; much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

“Does the gentleman complain that he has been misrepresented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair of last war, I was abused in all the newspapers for having advised his Majesty to violate the law of nations with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated even in hand-

\* In the course of his speech Mr. Nugent said that a peppercorn in acknowledgment of the right to tax America was of more value than millions without it.

bills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, administration never contradicted it. I will not say what advice I did give to the King. My advice is in writing, signed by myself, in the possession of the Crown. But I will say what advice I did not give to the King: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations.

“As to the report of the gentleman’s preventing in some way the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently that I own I am one of those who did believe it to be true.

“The gentleman must not wonder that he was not contradicted, when, as the Minister, he asserted the right of Parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this House which does not choose to contradict a minister. Even that chair, Sir, sometimes looks towards St. James’s. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps, the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. Lord Bacon had told me that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that question at the proper season,—the German war; my German war they called it. Every session I called out, Has anybody any objections to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the Upper House by succession to an ancient barony;\* he told me he did not like a German war. I honored the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post.

“A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valor of your troops; I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground—on the Stamp Act—when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

“In such a cause even your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? To sheathe the sword, not in its scabbard, but in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves now the whole House

\* Lord Le Despencer, formerly Sir Francis Dashwood.



of Bourbon is united against you? while France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave-trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer,—a gentleman\* whose noble and generous spirit would do honor to the proudest grandee of the country. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness which you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behavior to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies that I cannot help repeating them:—

‘Be to her faults a little blind;  
Be to her virtues very kind.’

“Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be *repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately*. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. We may bind their *trade*, confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.”

The motion for an address was carried without a division.† On the 26th of February a bill to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced, and received the Royal assent on the 18th of March. Together with the bill to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced another, called the Declaratory Act, asserting the undoubted power and authority of the King, with the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

\* In the month of October, 1762, the capital of the Manillas surrendered to Colonel Draper, and it was agreed that the sum of four millions of dollars should be paid as a ransom for the private property in the town. This stipulation, however, was so completely disregarded by Spain that the time of paying the Manilla ransom became in popular language equivalent to the term “*ad Kalendas Græcas*.” It was at one time proposed to accept a composition from Spain; but the Court of Madrid disdained such an arrangement, and more heroically paid nothing at all. Adolph. Hist. of the Reign of George III. vol. i. p. 91.

† In the course of this debate Mr. Burke made his first speech in the House of Commons, which drew from Mr. Pitt the most marked praise. No report, however, remains of Mr. Burke's speech.

to make laws of sufficient force to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever. This bill also received the Royal assent on the 18th of March.\*

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SPEECH ON THE BILL FOR QUARTERING TROOPS IN NORTH AMERICA, MAY 27, 1774.

“My Lords, the unfavorable state of health under which I have long labored could not prevent me from laying before your Lordships my thoughts on the bill now upon the table, and on the American affairs in general.

“If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will, naturally, subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my Lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn with contempt the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery and spirit of despotism; but, as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers. And, my Lords, notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I cannot help condemning, in the severest manner, the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots of Boston. But, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty to their parent state has been so diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of sound policy that individuals possessed of common understanding must be astonished at such proceedings. By blocking up the harbor of Boston, you have involved the innocent trader in the same punishment with the guilty profligates who destroyed

\* *Vide* 6 Geo. III. c. 11 & 12.

your merchandise; and, instead of making a well-concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their harbor, and punish the whole body of the inhabitants for the crime of a few lawless depredators and their abettors.

“My Lords, this country is little obliged to the framers and promoters of this tea tax. The Americans had almost forgot, in their excess of gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, any interest but that of the mother country; there seemed an emulation among the different provinces who should be most dutiful and forward in their expressions of loyalty to their real benefactor; as you will readily perceive by the following letter from Governor Bernard to a noble Lord then in office:—

“‘The House of Representatives,’ says he, ‘from the time of opening the session to this day, has shown a disposition to avoid all dispute with me, everything having passed with as much good humor as I could desire. They have acted, in all things, with temper and moderation; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation.’

“This, my Lords, was the temper of the Americans; and it would have continued, had it not been interrupted by your fruitless endeavors to tax them without their consent: but the moment they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretence of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror; for I sincerely believe the destroying of the tea was the effect of despair.

“But, my Lords, from the complexion of the whole of the proceedings, I think that Administration has purposely irritated them into those late violent acts, for which they now so severely smart; purposely to be revenged on them for the victory they gained by the repeal of the Stamp Act; a measure in which they seemingly acquiesced, but to which at the bottom they were real enemies. For what other motive could induce them to dress taxation, that father of American sedition, in the robes of an East India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony which then so happily subsisted between them and the mother country?

“My Lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble Lords in office to adopt a more gentle method of governing



America; for the day is not far distant when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms, but in arts also. It is an established fact that the principal towns in America are learned and polite, and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble Lords who are now in office; and, consequently, they will have a watchful eye over their liberties, to prevent the least encroachment on their hereditary rights.

“This observation has been so recently exemplified in an excellent pamphlet, which comes from the pen of an American gentleman, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lordships his thoughts on the competency of the British Parliament to tax America, which, in my opinion, puts this interesting matter in the clearest view:—

“‘The High Court of Parliament,’ says he, ‘is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire; in all free states the constitution is fixed; and, as the supreme legislature derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it without destroying its own foundation. The constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance, and therefore his Majesty’s American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the English constitution; and that it is an essential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects within the realm,—that what a man has honestly acquired, is absolutely his own; which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his consent.’

“This, my Lords, though no new doctrine, has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave, that this country had no right under heaven to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy, which neither the exigencies of the state, nor even an acquiescence in the taxes, could justify upon any occasion whatever. Such proceedings will never meet with their wished-for success; and, instead of adding to their miseries, as the bill now before you most undoubtedly does, adopt some lenient measures, which may lure them to their duty; act like a kind and affectionate parent towards a child whom he tenderly loves; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms; and, I will venture to affirm, you will find them

children worthy of their sire. But should their turbulence exist after your proffered terms of forgiveness, which I hope and expect this House will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremost of your Lordships to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a future relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent! a parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greatest and most pleasing consolation. This declaration may seem unnecessary; but I will venture to declare the period is not far distant when she will want the assistance of her most distant friends: but, should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever for her welfare. Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honor; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace!"

The bill passed by a majority of 57 to 16.

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#### LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION TO WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM BOSTON, JANUARY 20, 1775.

By his Majesty's command, Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, presented to the House of Lords the papers relating to the disturbances in North America.\* Upon this occasion the Earl of Chatham delivered the following speech:—

He began with inveighing against the dilatoriness of administration; but, said he, "as I have not the honor of access to his Majesty, I will endeavor to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, to rescue from him the misadvice of his present Ministers. I congratulate your Lordships that the business is *at last* entered upon by the noble Lord's laying the papers before you. As I suppose your Lordships too well apprised of their contents, I hope I am not premature in submitting to you my present motion,—

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire and beseech his Majesty that in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there, and above all for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town, it may gra-

\* See these Papers, Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 74 *et seq.*

ciously please his Majesty that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston as soon as the rigor of the season and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops may render the same practicable.'

"I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. For my own part, I will not desert, for a moment, the conduct of this weighty business, from the first to the last; unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded Ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger.

"When I state the importance of the colonies to this country, and the magnitude of the danger hanging over this country, from the present plan of mis-administration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but for justice to America; and I shall ever contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree,—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation. But let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to be property*. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

"When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity. It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably, and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

"Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or to enslave your fellow-



subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

“The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. Indeed, I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage and the troops under his command; thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy, penned up pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation.

“But I find a report *creeping* abroad that Ministers censure General Gage’s inactivity: let *them* censure him,—it becomes them,—it becomes their *justice* and their *honor*. I mean not to censure his inactivity: it is a prudent and necessary inaction. But what a miserable condition is that where disgrace is prudence and where it is necessary to be contemptible! This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immediabile vulnus*.

“I therefore urge and conjure your Lordships immediately to adopt this conciliating measure. I will pledge myself for its immediately producing conciliatory effects by its being thus well-timed; but if you delay till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay forever. But, admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity? You will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconciliation, or at least prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America by removing the obnoxious, hostile cause,—obnoxious and unserviceable, for their merit can be only in inaction: *Non dimicare est vincere*,—their victory can never be by exertions. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts,—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny.

And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit the sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond the accounts of history or description of poetry? *Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque*, AUDITQUE. So says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician of antiquity. But our Ministers say, *the Americans must not be heard*. They have been condemned *unheard*; the discriminating hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town,\* and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

“But his Majesty is advised that the union in America cannot last! Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears; but, with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it—an union solid, permanent, and effectual. Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. They are *not* commercial; they are your packers and factors: they live upon nothing,—for I call commission nothing. I mean the Ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for Government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union: even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade, indeed, increases the wealth and glory of a country; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land. In their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue,—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true, genuine sons of the earth are invincible: and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies; even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the British *nation*—(for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described)—of this spirit of independence, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information. It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle, their confirmed persuasion; it is their nature and their doctrine.

“I remember, some years ago, when the repeal of the Stamp

\* Boston.

Act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity, on that subject; and he assured me, with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America,—that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, and perhaps the conveniences, of life; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they had—what, my Lords?—their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.\*

“If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America, prepare the way,—open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction; but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription: cease your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand; oppress not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty. Such severity of injustice must forever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies. You irritate them to unappeasable rancor. What though you march from town to town and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit,—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valor, liberty, and resistance?

“This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen. It was obvious, from the nature of things and of mankind; and, above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money in England,—the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*.

“This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers?

\* It was Dr. Franklin.



Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration. It reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation. There is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property*. Let this distinction then remain forever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right in which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic and on this. ‘’Tis liberty to liberty engaged,’ that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied. It is the alliance of God and nature,—immutable, eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven.

“To such united force, what force shall be opposed? What, my Lords? A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home! The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordships’ time. Nor can such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, of ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting numbers on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger: it must arrive, my Lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful Ministers, spite of all their confidence and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads. They shall be forced to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles,—principles which they avow, but cannot defend; measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They

cannot, my Lords, they cannot stir a step; they have not a *move* left; they are *checkmated*.

“But it is not repealing this or that act of Parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom. You must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force posted at Boston, irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will be *irato animo*; they will not be the sound, honorable pactions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and the extortions of force. But it is more than evident ~~that~~ you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission; it is impossible: and, when I hear General Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation. His situation reminds me, my Lords, of the answer of a French General in the Civil Wars of France; Monsieur Condé, opposed to Monsieur Turenne, was asked how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often very near him; ‘J’ai peur,’ replied Condé, very honestly, ‘j’ai peur qu’il ne me prenne,’—*I’m afraid he’ll take me*.

“When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the General Congress of Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract*; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts:\* they must be repealed. You will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my repu-

\* The acts of Parliament passed in the preceding session, for shutting up the port of Boston, for altering the charter of Massachusetts Bay, and for removing, if necessary, the trial of capital offenders from that province to any other colony, or to Great Britain.

tation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed.\* Avoid, then, this humiliating, this disgraceful necessity. With the dignity becoming your exalted situation make the first advances to concord, to peace, and to happiness; for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from the superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

“So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity: the friend of Mæcenæ, and the eulogist of Augustus. To him, the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar; to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity:—

‘Tuque prior, tu parce; genus qui ducis Olympo;  
Projice tela manu.’

“Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America,—by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of Parliament, and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures,—foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread,—France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

“To conclude, my Lords: if the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing*. I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce *that the kingdom is undone*.”

After a debate of more than ordinary length, the question was rejected by a majority of 68 to 18.

\* Lord Chatham’s prediction was strictly verified; the repeal of these acts was *at last*, after three years’ fruitless war, sent out as a peace-offering to the Congress of America, by whom it was treated with contempt.



LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS TO THE CROWN  
TO PUT A STOP TO HOSTILITIES IN AMERICA, MAY 30, 1777.

On the 30th of May, Lord Chatham, the state of whose health had prevented him from attending in his place in Parliament since the 1st of February, 1775, appeared in the House of Lords, wrapped in flannels and supported upon crutches, and moved an address, advising his Majesty to take speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to the unnatural war with the colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, the removal of accumulated grievances. He spoke as follows:—

“My Lords, this is a flying moment; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for Government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody; but, if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health. This is the judgment of my better days,—the result of forty years’ attention to America. They are rebels; but for what? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights! What have these rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great: I do not mean their panegyric; but must observe, in attenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed. The door to mercy and justice has been shut against them; but they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission. [*Referring to their Petition.*] I state to you the importance of America. It is a double market,—the market of consumption and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don’t take things in time. In the sportsman’s phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but forty thousand German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage: you cannot conquer; it is impossible. You cannot conquer the Americans. You talk, my Lords, of your numerous friends among them to annihilate the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army. I might as

well talk of driving them before me with this crutch! But what would you conquer,—the map of America? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject. [Looking at Lord Amherst.] What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; and, if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises. I know what Ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war. They are apt scholars, and will venture to tell your Lordships that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace, too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth. You will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they can never respect you. If Ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France, there is still a moment left; the point of honor is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America at the expense of twelve millions a year. The intercourse has produced everything to France; and England, Old England, must pay for all. I have, at different times, made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable: the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America and unanimity at home: it will give America an option; she has yet made no option. You have said, Lay down your arms; and she has given you the Spartan answer: ‘Come, take.’” [Here he read his motion.] “‘That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully representing to his royal wisdom that this House is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom from the continuation of an unnatural war against the British colonies in America; and most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; and to assure his Majesty that this House will enter upon this great and necessary work with cheerfulness and despatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British colonies, and of

securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of these valuable possessions; fully persuaded that to heal and to redress will be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his Majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free-born subjects, than the rigors of chastisement and the horrors of a civil war, which hitherto have served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and, if continued, must end in finally dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the colonies.”

His Lordship rose again. “The proposal,” he said, “is specific. I thought this so clear, that I did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redress of all their grievances, and the right of disposing of their own money. This is to be done instantaneously. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will show Parliament sincerely disposed. Yet still much must be left to treaty. Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the Cannon of France; under a masked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible. You are now at the mercy of every little German chancery; and the pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. We have tried for unconditional submission: try what can be gained by unconditional redress. Less dignity will be lost in the repeal than in submitting to the demands of German chanceries. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have invaded them as much as the Spanish Armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the King where he ought to be, throned on the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.”

In making his motion for addressing the King, he insisted frequently and strongly on the absolute necessity of immediately making peace with America. Now, he said, was the crisis, before France was a party to the treaty. This was the only moment left before the fate of this country was decided. The French Court, he observed, was too wise to lose the opportunity of effectually separating America from the dominions of this kingdom. War between France and Great Britain, he said, was not less probable because it had not yet been declared: it would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gave full employment to our arms, and was pouring into her lap her wealth and



produce, the benefit of which she was enjoying in peace. He enlarged much on the importance of America to this country, which in peace, and in war, he observed, he ever considered as the great source of all our wealth and power. He then added (raising his voice): "Your trade languishes, your taxes increase, your revenues diminish. France at this moment is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which created your seamen, fed your islands, etc. He reprobated the measures which produced, and which had been pursued in the conduct of, the civil war, in the severest language; infatuated measures giving rise, and still continuing a cruel, unnatural, self-destroying war. "Success, it is said, is hoped for in this campaign. Why? Because our army will be as strong this year as it was last, when it was not strong enough." The notion of conquering America he treated with the greatest contempt.

After an animated debate, in which the motion was opposed by Lords Gower, Lyttelton, Mansfield, and Weymouth, and the Archbishop of York; and supported by the Dukes of Grafton and Manchester, Lord Camden and Shelburne, and the Bishop of Peterborough,

The Earl of Chatham again rose, and in reply to what had fallen from Lord Weymouth said: "My Lords, I perceive the noble Lord neither apprehends my meaning, nor the explanation given by me to the noble Earl\* in the blue ribbon, who spoke early in the debate. I will, therefore, with your Lordships' permission, state shortly what I meant. My Lords, my motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to be amended by your Lordships. I did not dare to point out the specific means. I drew the motion up to the best of my poor abilities; but I intended it only as the herald of conciliation, as the harbinger of peace to our afflicted colonies. But as the noble Lord seems to wish for something more specific on the subject, and through that medium seeks my particular sentiments, I will tell your Lordships very fairly what I wish for. I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act which your Lordships have passed since 1763. I would put our brethren in America precisely on the same footing they stood at that period. I would expect that, being left at liberty to tax themselves and dispose of their own property, they would, in return, contribute to the common burthens, according to their means and abilities. I will move your Lordships

\* Earl Gower.

for a bill of repeal, as the only means left to arrest that approaching destruction which threatens to overwhelm us. My Lords, I shall no doubt hear it objected, Why should we submit or concede? Has America done anything on her part to induce us to agree to so large a ground of concession?' I will tell you, my Lords, why I think you should. You have been the aggressors from the beginning. I shall not trouble your Lordships with the particulars; they have been stated and enforced by the noble and learned Lord who spoke last but one (Lord Camden), in a much more able and distinct manner than I could pretend to state them. If, then, we are the aggressors, it is your Lordships' business to make the first overture. I say again this country has been the aggressor. You have made descents upon their coasts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons. I do therefore affirm, my Lords, that, instead of exacting unconditional submission from the colonies, we should grant them unconditional redress. We have injured them; we have endeavored to enslave and oppress them. Upon this ground, my Lords, instead of chastisement, they are entitled to redress. A repeal of those laws of which they complain will be the first step to that redress. The people of America look upon Parliament as the authors of their miseries; their affections are estranged from their Sovereign. Let, then, reparation come from the hands that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed chastisement; and I do maintain that Parliament will again recover its authority, that his Majesty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his American subjects, and that your Lordships, as contributing to so great, glorious, salutary, and benignant a work, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire."

[The House divided: for the motion, 28; against it, 99. It was therefore lost by a majority of 71.]

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William Pitt, it has been justly said, was the first English minister to comprehend the meaning of the word "America." It was he who directed the policy of England at the time when the long struggle between England and France for North America was determined in favor of England by the victory of Wolfe at Quebec in 1759, two years before Pitt's retirement from his first premiership. It was in 1761 that the first serious friction between England and the colonies began, over the "writs of assistance." In April, 1763, just three years after the accession of George III., Grenville became prime minister; and early in 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, provoking the most energetic remonstrance and sometimes violent resistance in America. It was with the knowledge of this bitter opposition that Parliament met in December; and it was on January 14, 1766, in the debate on the Stamp Act, that Pitt made the first of his great speeches in defence of the colonies, which is reprinted in the

present leaflet. The four speeches here given are the important speeches. In July, 1766, six months after his speech on the Stamp Act, Pitt was raised to the peerage, becoming the Earl of Chatham. On February 1, 1775, twelve days after his speech here given, urging the withdrawal of the troops from Boston, he offered to the House of Peers a bill for settling the troubles in America, detailing various provisions to that end, supporting the bill with earnest words; but the bill was rejected by a majority of 61 against 32. The speech of May 30, 1777, the last printed in the present leaflet, is a noteworthy illustration of Chatham's strenuous but vain efforts for a policy of conciliation two years after the war began. In a debate in the Lords on the Address of Thanks, November 18, 1777, he declared: "I love and honor the British troops; I know their virtues and their valor; I know they can achieve anything except impossibilities; and the conquest of English America *is an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, you *cannot* conquer America. . . . You may swell every expense, and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German Prince, that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign country; your efforts are forever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the sordid sons of rapine and of plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms, never! never! never!" He proceeded to argue that the strength and discipline of the American forces were rising and improving, while those of the British armies were lowered; he denounced the shame of calling to the assistance of British arms in America "the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage"; and he made another plea for conciliation, that the colonies might still be saved to the mother country, which he believed would be better for both. On December 5, 1777, after Burgoyne's surrender, he returned to the subject in an important speech. "America was lost . . . General Washington proved himself three times an abler general than Sir William Howe," and the troops in the neighborhood of Philadelphia were likely to "share the same unhappy fate with those under General Burgoyne." Again he condemned the motives and the whole conduct of the war, and again recommended "measures of peace instead of measures of blood." In a speech six days later he urged that no time be lost in making conciliatory overtures to America; but perceiving the temper of the body which he addressed, he exclaimed, "I tremble for my country." Just five months later, May 11, 1778, Chatham died.

See Francis Thackeray's *History of the Earl of Chatham* (1827), incorporating his speeches. There is no adequate modern life of Chatham. See the brief biographies by Frederic Harrison and others; the essays by Macaulay, Brougham, and others; Carlos Slafter's "William Pitt the Patron of the American Colonies"; and Trevelyan's "American Revolution" and other histories of England and America in Chatham's period. The valuable article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is by G. F. Russell Barker, and this contains an excellent bibliography.

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## Conciliation with America.

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By EDMUND BURKE.

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FROM BURKE'S SPEECH ON MOVING HIS RESOLUTIONS FOR CONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES, MARCH 22, 1775.

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To restore order and repose to an empire so great and so distracted as ours is, merely in the attempt, an undertaking that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding. . . .

The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions; or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace; sought in its natural course and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace; and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the *former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country*, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and (far from a scheme of ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest, which reconciles them to British government.

My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion; and ever will be so, as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say,

of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is an healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendor of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon.\* It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace, at every instant, to keep the peace amongst them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer, and determine a proportion of payments, beyond all the powers of algebra to equalize and settle.

The plan which I shall presume to suggest derives, however, one great advantage from the proposition and registry of that noble lord's project. The idea of conciliation is admissible. First, the house, in accepting the resolution moved by the noble lord, has admitted, notwithstanding the menacing front of our address, notwithstanding our heavy bill of pains and penalties, that we do not think ourselves precluded from all ideas of free grace and bounty.

The house has gone farther: it has declared conciliation admissible *previous* to any submission on the part of America. It has even shot a good deal beyond that mark, and has admitted that the complaints of our former mode of exerting the right of taxation were not wholly unfounded. That right thus exerted is allowed to have had something reprehensible in it, something unwise, or something grievous, since, in the midst of our heat and resentment, we, of ourselves, have proposed a capital alteration; and, in order to get rid of what seemed so very exceptionable, have instituted a mode that is altogether new, one that is, indeed, wholly alien from all the ancient methods and forms of parliament.

The *principle* of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end, and this I shall endeavor to show you before I sit down. But, for the present, I take my ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation;

\* Lord North.

and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honor and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior, and he loses forever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.

The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide are these two. First, whether you ought to concede; and, secondly, what your concession ought to be. On the first of these questions we have gained (as I have just taken the liberty of observing to you) some ground. But I am sensible that a good deal more is still to be done. Indeed, sir, to enable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm and precise judgment, I think it may be necessary to consider distinctly the true nature and the peculiar circumstances of the object which we have before us. Because after all our struggle, whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature and to those circumstances, and not according to our own imaginations; not according to abstract ideas of right; by no means according to mere general theories of government, the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling. I shall therefore endeavor, with your leave, to lay before you some of the most material of these circumstances in as full and as clear a manner as I am able to state them.

The first thing that we have to consider with regard to the nature of the object is—the number of people in the colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on that point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and color, besides at least 500,000 others, who form no inconsiderable part of the strength and opulence of the whole. This, sir, is, I believe, about the true number. There is no occasion to exaggerate, where plain truth is of so much weight and importance. But whether I put the present numbers too high or too low is a matter of little moment. Such is the strength with which



population shoots in that part of the world that, state the numbers as high as we will, whilst the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. Whilst we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. Whilst we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations.

I put this consideration of the present and the growing numbers in the front of our deliberation, because, sir, this consideration will make it evident to a blunter discernment than yours that no partial, narrow, contracted, pinched, occasional system will be at all suitable to such an object. It will show you that it is not to be considered as one of those *minima* which are out of the eye and consideration of the law; not a paltry excrescence of the state; not a mean dependant, who may be neglected with little damage and provoked with little danger. It will prove that some degree of care and caution is required in the handling such an object. It will show that you ought not, in reason, to trifle with so large a mass of the interests and feelings of the human race. You could at no time do so without guilt, and be assured you will not be able to do it long with impunity.

But the population of this country, the great and growing population, though a very important consideration, will lose much of its weight if not combined with other circumstances. The commerce of your colonies is out of all proportion beyond the numbers of the people. . . .

The trade with America alone is now within less than 500,000*l.* of being equal to what this great commercial nation, England, carried on at the beginning of this century with the whole world! If I had taken the largest year of those on your table, it would rather have exceeded. But, it will be said, is not this American trade an unnatural protuberance that has drawn the juices from the rest of the body? The reverse. It is the very food that has nourished every other part into its present magnitude. Our general trade has been greatly augmented, and augmented more or less in almost every part to which it ever extended, but with this material difference: that, of the six millions which in the beginning of the century constituted the whole mass of our export commerce, the colony trade was but one-twelfth part. It is now (as a part of sixteen millions) considerably more than a third of the whole. This is the relative proportion of the importance of

the colonies at these two periods, and all reasoning concerning our mode of treating them must have this proportion as its basis, or it is a reasoning weak, rotten, and sophistical.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration. It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an immense view of what is and what is past. Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-eight years. There are those alive whose memory might touch the two extremities. For instance, my Lord Bathurst might remember all the stages of the progress. He was, in 1704, of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things. He was then old enough *acta parentum jam legere, et quæ sit poterit cognoscere virtus*. Suppose, sir, that the angel of this auspicious youth, foreseeing the many virtues which made him one of the most amiable, as he is one of the most fortunate men of his age, had opened to him in vision that when, in the fourth generation, the third prince of the house of Brunswick had sat twelve years on the throne of that nation, which (by the happy issue of moderate and healing councils) was to be made Great Britain, he should see his son, Lord Chancellor of England, turn back the current of hereditary dignity to its fountain, and raise him to an higher rank of peerage, whilst he enriched the family with a new one,—if amidst these bright and happy scenes of domestic honor and prosperity that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and, whilst he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle rather than a formed body, and should tell him, “Young man, there is America, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing sentiments in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life!”—if this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all

the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate, indeed, if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect, and cloud the setting of his day! . . .

I pass to the colonies in another point of view, their agriculture. This they have prosecuted with such a spirit that, besides feeding plentifully their own growing multitude, their annual export of grain, comprehending rice, has some years ago exceeded a million in value. Of their last harvest, I am persuaded, they will export much more. At the beginning of the century some of these colonies imported corn from the mother country. For some time past the old world has been fed from the new. The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent.

As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought those acquisitions of value, for they seemed even to excite your envy; and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and admiration. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that, whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue the gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard



industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people, a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us,—I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt, and die away within me. My rigor relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

I am sensible, sir, that all which I have asserted, in my detail, is admitted in the gross, but that quite a different conclusion is drawn from it. America, gentlemen say, is a noble object. It is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Gentlemen in this respect will be led to their choice of means by their complexions and their habits. Those who understand the military art will, of course, have some predilection for it. Those who wield the thunder of the state may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favor of prudent management than of force, considering force not as an odious, but a feeble instrument for preserving a people so numerous, so active, so growing, so spirited as this, in a profitable and subordinate connection with us.

First, sir, permit me to observe that the use of force alone is but *temporary*. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again, and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

My next objection is its *uncertainty*. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource, for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to force is that you *impair the object* by your very endeavors to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted,

and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own, because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict, and still less in the midst of it. I may escape, but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit, because it is the spirit that has made the country.

Lastly, we have no sort of *experience* in favor of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility has been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so. But we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it, and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

These, sir, are my reasons for not entertaining that high opinion of untried force by which many gentlemen, for whose sentiments in other particulars I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated. But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its population and its commerce, I mean its *temper and character*.

In this character of the Americans, a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole, and, as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth, and this from a great variety of powerful causes, which, to understand the true temper of their minds and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, sir, is a nation which still, I hope, respects and formerly adored her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant, and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are, therefore, not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty

inheres in some sensible objects, and every nation has formed to itself some favorite point, which, by way of eminence, becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens, the most eloquent tongues, have been exercised, the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English constitution to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usages to reside in a certain body called an house of commons. They went much further. They attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a house of commons as an immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all monarchies the people must in effect themselves mediately or immediately possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life-blood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe, or might be endangered in twenty other particulars without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse, and, as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy indeed to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is that they did thus apply those general arguments, and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

They were further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in an high degree. Some are merely popular. In all the popular representative is the most weighty, and this share of



the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people is no way worn out or impaired, and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit. The people are protestants, and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favorable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches from all that looks like absolute government is so much to be sought in their religious tenets as in their history. Every one knows that the Roman Catholic religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails, that it has generally gone hand in hand with them, and received great favor and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England, too, was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct opposition to all the ordinary powers of the world, and could justify that opposition only on a strong claim to natural liberty. Their very existence depended on the powerful and unremitted assertion of that claim. All protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance. It is the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the protestant religion. This religion, under a variety of denominations, agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces, where the Church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not composing most probably the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all. And even that stream of foreigners which has been constantly flowing into these colonies has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.

Sir, I can perceive by their manner that some gentlemen object to the latitude of this description, because in the southern colonies

the Church of England forms a large body and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these colonies which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean, sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it, but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so, and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with an higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths. Such were our Gothic ancestors. Such in our days were the Poles, and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.

Permit me, sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part towards the growth and effect of this untractable spirit. I mean their education. In no country, perhaps, in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful, and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states that all the people in his government are lawyers, or smatterers in law, and that in Boston they have been enabled, by successful chicane, wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal

constitutions. The smartness of debate will say that this knowledge ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion. All this is mighty well. But my honorable and learned friend\* on the floor, who condescends to mark what I say for animadversion, will disdain that ground. He has heard, as well as I, that, when great honors and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. If the spirit be not tamed and broken by these happy methods, it is stubborn and litigious. *Abeunt studia in mores*. This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources. In other countries the people, more simple and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance. Here they anticipate the evil and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass between the order and the execution, and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance, who carry your bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther." Who are you, that should fret and rage and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire, and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt and Arabia and Kurdistan as he governs Thrace, nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all, and the whole of the force and vigor of his authority in his centre is derived

\*The Attorney-general.



from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies, too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.

Then, sir, from these six capital sources,—of descent, of form of government, of religion in the northern provinces, of manners in the southern, of education, of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government,—from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth,—a spirit that, unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us.

I do not mean to commend either the spirit in this excess or the moral causes which produce it. Perhaps a more smooth and accommodating spirit of freedom in them would be more acceptable to us. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcilable with an arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonists to be persuaded, that their liberty is more secure when held in trust for them by us (as their guardians during a perpetual minority) than with any part of it in their own hands. But the question is not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame,—what, in the name of God, shall we do with it? You have before you the object, such as it is, with all its glories, with all its imperfections on its head. You see the magnitude, the importance, the temper, the habits, the disorders. By all these considerations we are strongly urged to determine something concerning it. We are called upon to fix some rule and line for our future conduct which may give a little stability to our politics and prevent the return of such unhappy deliberations as the present. Every such return will bring the matter before us in a still more untractable form. For what astonishing and incredible things have we not seen already? What monsters have not been generated from this unnatural contention? Whilst every principle of authority and resistance has been pushed, upon both sides, as far as it would go, there is nothing so solid and certain, either in reasoning or in practice, that has not been shaken. Until very lately all authority in America seemed to be nothing but an emanation from yours. Even the popular part of the colony constitution derived all its activity, and its first

vital movement, from the pleasure of the crown. We thought, sir, that the utmost which the discontented colonists could do was to disturb authority. We never dreamt they could of themselves supply it, knowing in general what an operose business it is to establish a government absolutely new. But having, for our purposes in this contention, resolved that none but an obedient assembly should sit, the humors of the people there, finding all passage through the legal channel stopped, with great violence broke out another way. Some provinces have tried their experiment as we have tried ours, and theirs has succeeded. They have formed a government sufficient for its purposes, without the bustle of a revolution or the troublesome formality of an election. Evident necessity and tacit consent have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it that Lord Dunmore (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient government ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called,—not the name of governor, as formerly, or committee, as at present. This new government has originated directly from the people, and was not transmitted through any of the ordinary artificial media of a positive constitution. It was not a manufacture ready formed, and transmitted to them in that condition from England. The evil arising from hence is this: that the colonists having once found the possibility of enjoying the advantages of order, in the midst of a struggle for liberty, such struggles will not henceforward seem so terrible to the settled and sober part of mankind as they had appeared before the trial.

Pursuing the same plan of punishing by the denial of the exercise of government to still greater lengths, we wholly abrogated the ancient government of Massachusetts. We were confident that the first feeling, if not the very prospect of anarchy, would instantly enforce a complete submission. The experiment was tried. A new, strange, unexpected face of things appeared. Anarchy is found tolerable. A vast province has now subsisted, and subsisted in a considerable degree of health and vigor, for near a twelvemonth, without governor, without public council, without judges, without executive magistrates. How long it will continue in this state, or what may arise out of this unheard-of situation, how can the wisest of us conjecture? Our late experience has taught us that many of those fundamental principles

formerly believed infallible, are either not of the importance they were imagined to be, or that we have not at all adverted to some other far more important and far more powerful principles which entirely overrule those we had considered as omnipotent. I am much against any further experiments which tend to put to the proof any more of these allowed opinions, which contribute so much to the public tranquillity. In effect, we suffer as much at home by this loosening of all ties and this concussion of all established opinions as we do abroad. For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself, and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate without attacking some of those principles or deriding some of those feelings for which our ancestors have shed their blood. . . .

The temper and character which prevail in our colonies are, I am afraid, unalterable by any human art. We cannot, I fear, falsify the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates. The language in which they would hear you tell them this tale would detect the imposition. Your speech would betray you. An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery.

I think it is nearly as little in our power to change their republican religion as their free descent, or to substitute the Roman Catholic as a penalty or the Church of England as an improvement. The mode of inquisition and dragooning is going out of fashion in the old world, and I should not confide much to their efficacy in the new. The education of the Americans is also on the same unalterable bottom with their religion. You cannot persuade them to burn their books of curious science, to banish their lawyers from the courts of law, or to quench the lights of their assemblies by refusing to choose those persons who are best read in their privileges. It would be no less impracticable to think of wholly annihilating the popular assemblies in which these lawyers sit. The army, by which we must govern in their place, would be far more chargeable to us, not quite so effectual, and perhaps, in the end, full as difficult to be kept in obedience. . . .

But let us suppose all these moral difficulties got over. The ocean remains. You cannot pump this dry, and, as long as it



continues in its present bed, so long all the causes which weaken authority by distance will continue. "Ye gods, annihilate but space and time, and make two lovers happy!" was a pious and passionate prayer, but just as reasonable as many of the serious wishes of very grave and solemn politicians.

If then, sir, it seems almost desperate to think of any alterative course for changing the moral causes (and not quite easy to remove the natural) which produce prejudices irreconcilable to the late exercise of our authority,—but that the spirit infallibly will continue, and, continuing, will produce such effects as now embarrass us,—the second mode under consideration is to prosecute that spirit in its overt acts as *criminal*.

At this proposition I must pause a moment. The thing seems a great deal too big for my ideas of jurisprudence. It should seem, to my way of conceiving such matters, that there is a very wide difference in reason and policy between the mode of proceeding on the irregular conduct of scattered individuals, or even of bands of men, who disturb order within the state, and the civil dissensions which may, from time to time, on great questions, agitate the several communities which compose a great empire. It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against an whole people. I cannot insult and ridicule the feelings of millions of my fellow-creatures, as Sir Edward Coke insulted one excellent individual (Sir Walter Raleigh) at the bar. I am not ripe to pass sentence on the gravest public bodies, intrusted with magistracies of great authority and dignity, and charged with the safety of their fellow-citizens, upon the very same title that I am. I really think that for wise men this is not judicious, for sober men not decent, for minds tinctured with humanity not mild and merciful. . . .

If we mean to conciliate and concede, let us see of what nature the concession ought to be. To ascertain the nature of our concession, we must look at their complaint. The colonies complain that they have not the characteristic mark and seal of British freedom. They complain that they are taxed in a Parliament in which they are not represented. If you mean to satisfy them at all, you must satisfy them with regard to this complaint. If you mean to please any people, you must give them the boon which they ask, not what you may think better for them, but of a kind totally different. Such an act may be a wise regulation,

but it is no concession, whereas our present theme is the mod of giving satisfaction. . . .

I am not determining a point of law. I am restoring tranquillity; and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them. That point nothing else can or ought to determine.

My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield a matter of right or grant as matter of favor, is *to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution*, and, by recording that admission in the journals of Parliament, to give them a strong assurance as the nature of the thing will admit that we mean forever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence. . . .

I do not know that the colonies have, in any general way or in any cool hour, gone much beyond the demand of immunity in relation to taxes. It is not fair to judge of the temper or dispositions of any man or any set of men, when they are composed and at rest, from their conduct or their expressions in a state of disturbance and irritation. It is besides a very great mistake to imagine that mankind follow up practically any speculative principle, either of government or of freedom, as far as it will go in argument and logical illation. We Englishmen stop very short of the principles upon which we support any given part of our constitution or even the whole of it together. I could easily, if I had not already tired you, give you very striking and convincing instances of it. This is nothing but what is natural and proper. All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights, that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants. As we must give away some natural liberty to enjoy civil advantages, we must sacrifice some civil liberties for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire. But in all fair dealings the thing bought must bear some proportion to the purchase paid. None will barter away the immediate jewel of his soul. Though a great house is apt to make slaves haughty, yet it is purchasing a part of the artificial importance of a great empire too dear, to pay for it all essential rights and all the intrinsic dignity of human nature. None of us who would not risk his life rather than fall under a government purely arbitrary. But, although there are some

amongst us who think our constitution wants many improvements to make it a complete system of liberty, perhaps none who are of that opinion would think it right to aim at such improvement by disturbing his country and risking everything that is dear to him. In every arduous enterprise we consider what we are to lose as well as what we are to gain; and the more and better stake of liberty every people possess, the less they will hazard in a vain attempt to make it more. These are *the cords of man*. Man acts from adequate motives relative to his interest, and not on metaphysical speculations. Aristotle, the great master of reasoning, cautions us, and with great weight and propriety, against this species of delusive geometrical accuracy in moral arguments, as the most fallacious of all sophistry. The Americans will have no interest contrary to the grandeur and glory of England when they are not oppressed by the weight of it, and they will rather be inclined to respect the acts of a superintending legislature when they see them the acts of that power which is itself the security, not the rival, of their secondary importance. In this assurance my mind most perfectly acquiesces; and, I confess, I feel not the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease. Nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens some share of those rights upon which I have always been taught to value myself. . . .

My hold on the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces toward you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will



be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to that feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office and your instructions and your suspending clauses are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies, every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine, then, that it is the land tax act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the committee of supply which gives you your army? or that it is the mutiny bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No. Surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us,—a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material, and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But, to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all.

Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom. A great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our station, it becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspiciously open our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the church, *Sursum corda!* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive and the only honorable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the power, the happiness, of the human race. Let us get an equal revenue as we have got an American empire. Englishmen have made it all that it is. English privileges alone will make all it can be.

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The names of Edmund Burke and William Pitt stand at the head of the list of Englishmen who, in the period preceding our Revolution and during the war itself, were the staunch and outspoken friends of America. (The famous speeches of Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, in our behalf, are brought together in Old South Leaflet No. 199.) Burke was born in Ireland, probably in 1729, and came to London in 1750. The study of American history became among his first important practical interests. In 1757 he published "An Account of the European Settlements in America," in the preparation of which he seems to have been helped by his cousin, William Burke; and the same year, as we learn from one of his letters to a friend, it was his intention "shortly, please God, to be in America,"—an intention apparently never realized. When the Marquis of Rockingham became prime minister, he made Burke his private secretary. The unjust and arbitrary measures toward the American colonies had just been initiated under Grenville; and it was the aim of the Rockingham administration to reverse this policy. Pitt was not associated with the Rockingham administration; he went farther than it, maintaining that Parliament had no legal right to tax the American colonies. Burke, while maintaining the legal right, condemned its exercise as impolitic and tyrannical. Entering the House of Commons in 1766, his profound knowledge of his passion for justice, and his splendid eloquence at once made him a power in British politics; and nowhere, save perhaps in his later impeachment of English tyranny in 1789, that power so impressively exercised as in behalf of the rights of the American colonies. His speeches on the repeal of the Stamp Act and on the restrictions on American trade are among the earliest of his important speeches. For an account of his successive speeches on this subject, see the valuable article in the Dictionary of National Biography, by William Pitt Rivers; and for the speeches themselves to the editions of Burke's works. His great speech on conciliation with America in 1775, reprinted only in part in the present Leaflet, took three hours in delivery and was one of his most memorable speeches; but the resolution passed in connection with it was negatived by a vote of 270 to 78. His health suffered from the unavailing exertions; but those exertions were unremitting until hope was lost.

The first important biography of Burke was that by Sir James Prior. There is also a brief biography by John Morley, who also wrote the article on Burke in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. See the review of Burke's character and service by Buckle in his *History of Civilization*, Vol. I. There are valuable essays on Burke by Brougham, Maurice, De Quincey, and others. A careful bibliography accompanies the article in the *National Biography*. Burke's services in behalf of America hold conspicuous place in Trevelyan's *History of the American Revolution* and other histories of the period.

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